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CHINESE PAINTING

LEADING MASTERS AND PRINCIPLES

PART I

THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

Vol. I. Early Chinese Painting. Vol. II. The Sung Period
Vol. III. Plates

PART II

THE LATER CENTURIES

Vol. IV. The Yüan and Early Ming Masters
Vol. V. The Later Ming and Leading Ch'ing Masters
Vol. VI. Plates





Su Han-ch'ên, Spring morning in a Garden.
A Young Woman at her Dressing-table on the Terrace.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Osvald Sirén

Chinese Painting

LEADING MASTERS AND PRINCIPLES

PART I

The First Millennium

VOLUME II

THE SUNG PERIOD

17928



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Sir

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The Sung Period

The Historical Background

IT HAS become customary to divide the history of Chinese art, including painting, in accordance with the dynastic periods which are generally accepted as the framework for the political history of the Middle Kingdom. The reasons for such an arrangement are obvious, not to say peremptory, from a practical and chronological point of view, but it should not lead to the conclusion that the successive divisions or stages in the evolution of Chinese art followed exactly the same rhythm, the same ups and downs as the political events. That was not the case; the changes of style within the evolution of Chinese painting – which interests us here in particular – were not primarily consequences of the rise and fall of dynasties or the like, even though the connexion at certain periods was quite close. Generally speaking, it may be claimed that the evolution of art in China presents a more continuous flow than the political pageant. It is not divided up by such breaks or brusque changes as occurred in the succession of the dynasties; the changes are of a more gradual kind, more in the nature of growth or decay in accordance with the seasons of the spiritual climate.

It is consequently not always possible to correlate the new starts or attempts in the field of painting with the beginnings of new dynasties, though it must be kept in mind that certain ruling houses took an active part in bringing the artistic development to fruition. This occurred, however, generally more towards the middle than at the very beginning of a new dynasty, i.e. when the soil had been prepared also for the seeds of artistic culture.

The relation between the political and the artistic history in China may thus appear less obvious than in some of the European countries since the Renaissance, yet it was at certain periods of sufficient importance to require some attention even in a study of Chinese painting. The following notes about the general march of the political events in the Sung period and their relation to the cultural life of the epoch may thus, in spite of their incompleteness, prove useful also for our study of the development of painting.

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1

The historical division of the Sung period into two parts of almost equal length, known as the Northern Sung (960–1126) and the Southern Sung (1127–1279), was by no means only of political importance. The retirement of the government from K'aifeng to Hangchow and the abandonment of northern China to the Chin or Jurchen Tartars had a far reaching influence also in the field of cultural pursuits and contributed to a gradual change in spiritual and aesthetic ideals. The beginnings of the new dynasty were relatively bright and promising, but after the initial period of reunification and expansion during the reign of the first emperor, T'ai-tsu (960–976), the new empire became the butt of dangerous attacks by the northern border states. If the Chinese had kept up the defence of the frontier properly, they might have held the invaders at bay, but instead of making a stand and fighting the enemy to finality, the rulers and leaders

of the nation over and over again sought to purchase peace by offering gold and silk, oxen, horses, and royal princesses to the invaders. On every new occasion, the Chinese had to increase their offers. Still more dangerous was the method soon introduced of making an alliance with one enemy in order to fight another. It was like opening the sluices for a tributary river while trying to fight a flood lower down.

The principal enemies of the Sung empire were the Tungusian and Tangut tribes on its northern and western frontiers. The former were organized first in the Liao kingdom and then in the Chin empire; the latter in the short-lived but extensive Hsi Hsia state, and both were finally wiped out by the Mongol avalanche. The wars started at the end of the tenth century in the reign of the second Sung emperor, T'ai-tsung (976-998), and they were continued during the following centuries with intervals of peace, which, however, contributed little to the strength of the empire. By the successive treaties of 1004 with the Liao, and 1042 with the Hsi Hsia the Chinese were compelled to pay annual indemnities and to cede certain territories to their victorious neighbours.

This inglorious and prodigally expensive conduct of public affairs aroused discontent, and in the reign of the Emperor Shên-tsung (1068-1085) the so-called liberal party gained the upper hand in the direction of the political affairs of the country. It was headed by Wang An-shih (1021-1086), who has won a place in the history of China not only as a ruthless politician but also as an excellent writer, particularly of state memorials and the like. The sweeping reforms that he introduced in the political and economic administration have been very differently estimated, according to the political ideals of the reviewers. Generally speaking, they were closely related to the ideas of modern western socialism, but they were applied by methods and agents who to no small extent obscured or destroyed the idealistic intentions of their initiator.

His leading idea in the economic field was that the

state should take over the entire management of commerce, industry and agriculture and by this centralization improve the economic conditions of the common people. He (like so many other social reformers of a similar type) wanted to take from the rich in order to give to the poor, but this meant in practice the introduction of a strict form of state capitalism, to replace private capital, and it involved a rigid control, registration and taxation of every inch of soil and every animal on the farms. Particular importance was attached to the plan that the government should lend money to the peasants in the spring planting season and make them return it when the crops were harvested. The arrangement was intended to be for the benefit of the peasants, but it was coupled with methods of bonding and taxation which in the hands of the tax-collectors did more harm than good. Thus, for instance, when a poor landowner under adverse conditions was unable to repay a loan within the stipulated period, he was simply turned out and his property confiscated by the state. Such cases became increasingly frequent with the years, and the whole system brought poverty and discontent to the people instead of prosperity and satisfaction. The situation was further aggravated by drastic laws of registration and conscription, which brought heavy burdens to the people, and by the moral weakness of the men in charge, who were more interested in their own profits than in the welfare of the people.

The longer the experiment lasted the more hated became the man who had started it. Wang An-shih's motives were to begin with of a noble kind, but he was an obstinate theoretician with little experience or faculty to foresee the practical results of his reforms. He was by no means uneducated or lacking in ability as a writer and poet, but he neglected the traditional rules of cleanliness and good behaviour and appeared in tattered clothes with unwashed face, which together with his proverbial stubbornness made him distasteful to many old-fashioned gentlemen. Su Tung-p'o wrote that Wang An-shih's

mode of action was based on the belief that "God's anger is not worth fearing, public opinion not worth respecting, and the tradition of ancestors not worth keeping".

The painful tension was increased by the fact that Wang An-shih's henchmen and assistants were political fortune-hunters rather than idealistic reformers or statesmen. Their main endeavour was to secure their own positions by sending their opponents to distant places from where their voices would not be easily heard. But such measures did not silence a man like Su Tung-p'o. Even from his places of exile he wrote several memorials to the throne in which he fearlessly expressed his political ideas and tried to make the emperor realize the impending dangers of the political course. His words were inspired by a trust in the innate qualities of the Chinese people and the time-honoured institutions which had made them beloved all through the centuries.

Su Tung-p'o's memorials, of which there were at least three at the beginning of the seventies, did not pass without leaving some impressions in high quarters, but the hold of Wang An-shih and his partisans on the government was too strong to be loosened suddenly. Wang remained in office until 1076, and even after his dismissal no radical change took place in the direction of the affairs of state, because some of his most ruthless followers stayed in office for a few more years. It was only at the end of the emperor Shên-tsung's reign that the leaders of the conservative party were called in and given a free hand to undo the nefarious reforms. This work was first entrusted to Ssü-ma Kuang and, after his death to Su Tung-p'o.¹ A few years of readjustment followed, but the country was in a dangerous situation owing to the misery and unrest of the population and the aggressiveness of the warlike neighbours on the northern and western borders.

The members of the conservative party (known as Yü-yüan), who gradually accomplished the undoing of Wang An-shih's reforms, had been called in to serve in the government by the empress

dowager, mother of Shên-tsung, a woman of uncommon virtues and ability. She took up the reins of government in 1085 at the death of her son, because the crown prince was at the time only a boy of ten. The period of recovery which thus began, lasted for eight years and kindled new hopes among the common people, but they were crushed as soon as the young emperor (then eighteen years old) ascended the throne.

He became only too willingly a tool in the hands of politicians from the camp of Wang An-shih's following. The old statesmen who had done their best to re-establish a balance in the finances of the state and to meet the actual needs of the peasants, were billeted or exiled. The new men were mainly inspired by the desire to take revenge on their opponents. Wang An-shih's methods of state capitalism were enforced more ruthlessly than ever, and they were now honoured with the label "The Ancestors' Way", because they had been applied in the reign of the old emperor Shên-tsung. And as they served to supply the imperial household as well as the treasury with capital, they became popular in high quarters.

The emperor Chê-tsung passed away in January 1100 without leaving a son. The imperial authority was transferred to his brother Hui-tsung, but there was again a short interregnum, this time lasting only six months, during which the future emperor's mother, Shên-tsung's consort, served as the head of the government. It was a breathing pause for the scholars of the old set who still were alive; some

¹ In August 1086 Su Tung-p'o succeeded finally in putting a complete stop to the farmers' loans. He wrote at the time:

"These loans have been in force for about twenty years. During this period the people have become steadily poorer, law-suits have multiplied and banditry has increased . . . The officials established places of entertainment and gambling houses at the time when they paid out the loans. Very often the farmers returned from the city empty-handed. One can see this from the fact that whenever the loans were being paid out the receipts of the wine monopoly increased. I have personally witnessed these things with tears in my eyes. In the last twenty years numberless people have sold their houses and farms, sent away their wives and daughters to work as servants, jumped into the river, or hanged themselves because of inability to repay the loans." (Translation by Lin Yü-t'ang, in *The Gay Genius*, p. 292.)

were promoted, others recalled from exile, but only a few of them remained.

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II

When Hui-tsung seized the reins of government practically the same methods were applied as during the reign of his brother, and several of the most fanatical followers of Wang An-chih were given prominent positions. The best known among these was Ts'ai Ching, who now was entrusted with the leadership of the government. The work accomplished by him and his assistants, based on the well-known methods of extorting money from the commonalty in order to enrich the imperial treasury and pay off threatening enemies, has with good reason been stigmatized as the most effective preparation for the final collapse of the Northern Sung empire. This was caused by interior corruption and discord between men in responsible positions rather than by any military superiority on the part of the aggressor.

The deep gulf that existed at the time between the supreme ruler and his subjects was accentuated and increased by irresponsible ministers who found it to their advantage to impoverish the people in order to supply the monarch with the means for his costly pleasures and enjoyments. These were, however, by no means simply of a frivolous kind. His associations with the ladies of the court, which eventually brought him over thirty sons, were apparently not so premature and exhausting as those of his brother Chê-tung, who from the age of eighteen was always surrounded by "twenty grown-up girls who attended to his personal comfort". Hui-tsung's passion for music and every kind of art was a more potent influence in his life, and it has left deeper traces in the history of Chinese culture than anything else that he accomplished.

His artistic interests developed along two main lines; that of the collector, and that of the creative painter. The latter will be more closely examined in connexion with our study of the group of painters

who were associated with the Emperor and his Academy of Painting, but a few notes about the emperor's activities as a collector and garden lover may here be added. His collections were partly of an archaeological and partly of a purely artistic kind, the former containing bronze vessels, bells and seals, the latter mainly pictures and calligraphies, besides objects of decoration. Very little, indeed, remains of them nowadays, but we know them to some extent through the descriptive catalogues, prepared by imperial command, such as the *Po-ku t'u lu*, the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, and *Hsüan-ho shu-p'u*, the first describing bronzes, the latter two paintings and calligraphies in the imperial collection.¹

The collections as such were probably the largest and most precious of their kind ever brought together in China, and they marked the beginning of a collecting activity which from that time onward developed rapidly into something that became almost a *sine qua non* for Chinese scholars and gentlemen. And it may also be remembered that the general aesthetic interest of the court and the ever-increasing demand for technical perfection and beauty in the field of decorative arts resulted in the production of the most exquisite ceramic products and silk textiles ever made in China.

The most absorbing and extensive product of the emperor's romantic dreams in forms of nature was, however, the pleasure park known as Kên-yü, situated at the north-west corner of Pien-liang (the present K'ai-fêng). The park was inspired by tales of a Taoist Paradise, with a mountain representing the abode of the Immortals and lotus-lakes bordered by winding galleries and floating pavilions. Between them were secluded gardens with rare trees and plants and marvellous garden-stones brought thither

¹ The catalogue of paintings comprises some 6,400 specimens by 231 painters, and these are grouped in ten sections or classes, according to subjects, such as I. Buddhist and Taoist. II. Human Figures. III. Palaces and Buildings. IV. Barbarians. V. Landscapes. VI. Animals. VII. Birds and Flowers. VIII. Bamboos. IX. Dragons and Fishes. X. Vegetables and Fruits. The earliest are attributed to masters of the third and fourth centuries, the latest are works by contemporaries, and all these masters are characterized in short biographical introductions.

from various parts of the country. They offered fascinating motifs for the painters, and a selection of the most remarkable among these stones was published in a special book, the *Hsüan-ho shih-p'u*, which formed a kind of counterpart to the catalogue of the imperial picture catalogue.

A special commissioner had been sent to the southern provinces to procure the most beautiful trees and plants and the most wonderfully shaped stones. He carried out the command ruthlessly. Wherever stones were found and whoever the owner might be, they were simply appropriated for the emperor's garden, and the people of the respective localities were forced to work for the imperial commissioner, whether they would or not. According to tradition, the burden of this forced labour was made still heavier to the population by the fact that the commissioner used the opportunity also to provide himself with such precious garden stones. It became a matter of common knowledge that his garden was almost as rich in rare and beautiful decorations as that of the emperor. For this he had to pay with his head during a following regime, when things were adjusted. It was a small compensation for the many lives lost during the transport of these heavy stones to the imperial gardens.

The above remarks may serve as symptomatic indications of Hui-tsung's widespread aesthetic interests; others referring to his associations with the painters and the Academy of Painting will be added later. All these efforts brought rich and glamorous results; but lacked the stamina, the force to resist the storms of political unrest which were unleashed sooner than expected and rose to a havoc that swept away the national government. The policy of defeatism and evasion which had been followed under the preceding generation was only accentuated and in fact became the most effective means of bringing the country into a precarious situation. No serious attempt was made to check the onset of the Chin armies which crossed the Yellow River after their successful campaign against the Liao kingdom of the Khitans (then in alliance with

the Sung empire). Hui-tsung fled to Nanking and left the care of the government to his son, who assumed power under the name of Ch'in-tsung. The capital was practically at the mercy of the invaders and a spirit of terror spread among its inhabitants. The emperor saw no other way out than to sue for peace, a petition that was granted only against payments of huge indemnities of gold and silver and the delivery of ten thousand oxen and horses. The immediate disaster was thus averted, but as the Chinese gradually proved unable, or unwilling, to fulfil their magniloquent promises, the enemy came back in greater force the following year (1126) and laid siege to the capital. The fatal hour was approaching rapidly and good advice was worth a king's ransom. It was of little avail that armies from other parts of the country were hastening to succour the besieged; within the capital the spirit was very low and dissension among officials ran high. The emperor was totally unable to rally the people and chose the traditional way of evasion: He went in person to the enemy's camp, offering submission and suing for terms of peace. These involved vastly increased indemnities of precious metals, the cession of most of the Chinese territory north of the River, and the demand that the whole imperial household should repair to the enemy camp (where the young emperor already was kept in custody). The Chin general transferred the imperial dignity to a representative of his own people and finally, in the following year (1127), retired to the north, carrying with him immense loot and three thousand members of the imperial household, including the old emperor Hui-tsung, who was never to see his pleasure gardens and collections again.

* * *

The highly dramatic struggle of the next few years between the invaders and the Chinese armies which rallied around Prince K'ang and some patriotic generals such as Tsung Tsê and Yo Fei, cannot be retold here; their influence on cultural development

and artistic activity was evidently of a negative kind. The contending forces experienced victory and defeat alternatively in rapid succession; cities like K'aifeng and Loyang were plundered and burnt – even Hangchou was ravaged – large districts devastated, and millions of people killed or starved to death. The life-blood of the Chinese people was dangerously drained, but the final springs of Chinese vitality were not completely exhausted. When the fury of battle finally abated and the conquerors had consolidated their government in Yenching (Peking), the great capital of the North, the Chinese found golden opportunities in Hangchou, the heavenly city of the fertile South, to reconstruct their old national institutions and revive their creative activities in various fields of spiritual and material culture. And as the conquerors came into closer peaceful contact with the Chinese, they found it to their own advantage to adopt Chinese cultural traditions and modes of life. The administration of the minor localities was entrusted to native officials; Yenching was embellished with palaces and temples in pure Chinese style; the Buddhist religion and Confucian ceremonies were treated alike with favour and consideration. There were also able painters active at the court in Yenching, and some of the Chin emperors accumulated important collections of art. Indeed, they spared no efforts to make Chinese cultural institutions known and appreciated among their subjects and to inculcate the time-honoured virtues of the great Sage. They showed no intention of encroaching upon the territory of the Southern Sung empire after the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1141. Their government in Yenching (Peking) became in fact almost as Chinese as that of Hangchou, and something like equilibrium might have been established, had not a more powerful enemy appeared in the field. Whatever the Chin rulers succeeded in building up was swept away by the Mongol avalanche at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The recovery in the South also proceeded more speedily than might have been expected while the

war was on. Prince K'ang consolidated the position of the dynasty in Hangchou, and ruled there under the name of Kao-tsung until 1162. During the following hundred and twenty years he was succeeded by half a dozen more or less incapable monarchs of the Sung house, but we have no reason to enter here into an account of their respective reigns, during which the government was in the hands of politicians and fortune-hunters, while the monarchs themselves were absorbed in more pleasurable occupations. It was a period when the enjoyments of life seemed the most essential thing for high as well as low in Hangchou, and little thought was given to military preparations against the invaders from the north.

The Chinese tried their old method of diplomatic bargaining and entered into an alliance with the Mongols, lured by the promise of some of the old territory still held by the Chin. When K'aifeng fell after a long siege in 1233 and the whole Chin empire lay open to the joint armies of the Mongols and the Chinese, the latter found, however, that their forceful friends were by no means willing to pass on to them all the newly conquered territory. Instead of fulfilling the agreement and keeping peace with their nominal allies, the Mongols pushed southward, starting their gradual conquest of the whole of China. This proved, however, to be a more difficult project than it seemed at the start. Time and again the Chinese put up a valiant fight; and in consequence of this and of the Mongol leaders' being engaged in other conflicts at the time, the tug of war was kept up for nearly half a century before the conquest of the South was completed, and the last scion of the Sung ended the final act in the long dynastic drama by jumping into the sea from an island off the coast of Canton followed by a large number of his faithful subjects.

One may indeed wonder how a dynasty which had proved so incapable of meeting the demands of the political situation and of establishing peace and prosperity in the country could become so dear to the nation, and mark such a wonderful chapter in

the cultural and artistic history of the Chinese. A generalizing answer to these questions may be found in the words of a Chinese historian who epitomizes the popular estimate as follows:¹

"The Sung gained the empire by the sword and kept it by kindness. Their goodness to the people was not tinged enough with severity, and so the kingdom was snatched from them. Still, through it the empire was maintained for a hundred and fifty years after it seemed to have slipped from their grasp, and it caused such men as Chang Shih-chieh and Wên T'ien-hsiang (the two last defenders of the empire) to cling to them to the very last and finally to give their lives for them."

* * *

III

The slowly developing political tragedy of the Sung dynasty caused by lack of military preparation, was to some extent counter-balanced, and at certain intervals interrupted, by the creative forces which became manifest in philosophy and religion, in social and political reforms, in various kinds of historical and archaeological research, and above all, in literature and painting. In all these spheres they led to practical results in the form of new institutions, publications and schools of thought which all and each would require a special chapter to be fully discussed, a task which would lead us beyond the limits of these introductory remarks to our study of the development of painting during the Sung dynasty. It should, however, not be forgotten that the epoch-making growth and sudden burgeoning of Sung paintings was paralleled or even matched by the creative activity in some of the other fields mentioned above; in other words, the brilliant development of painting was by no means an isolated phenomenon brought about by the will of imperial art-lovers, but a product of the general cultural needs and standards of the period.

Directing our attention to some of the most significant reforms applied in the principles of

government and in the social organisation, it should be noted that the founder of the Sung dynasty transferred most of the executive power from the military to the civil authorities, a pacifist policy which, however great the military abuse of power may have been, under the circumstances involved taking very considerable risks. China became then, and remained until recent times, a country where the government was mainly entrusted to a class of learned officials selected through the state examinations. These examinations had existed since the Han period, but their application had been more or less dependent on the religious or philosophical attitudes of the rulers. There had been times when Buddhist thought or Taoist mysticism had more influence on the selection of high officials than the Confucian classics or skill in literary compositions. But at the beginning of the Sung era the examinations were again systematized in accordance with more strict Confucian principles. The government of the state as well as the lives of the citizens were regulated in adherence to the fundamental moral teachings of the great Sage. The educational system, the principal aim of which was to prepare for the state examinations, was built on the inculcation of filial piety, absolute obedience to superiors, loyalty to the emperor, and veneration for the ancient traditions of the country. It involved a strong national reaction, which was by no means diminished by the adverse political experiences, rather the contrary. It seems almost as if the nationalism of the Chinese were aroused in the same measure as they lost their ancient ground to invading enemies. They had no longer the power of expansion or political leadership, but they built up for themselves a world of their own, perfect in its cultural refinement, its artistic beauty, and its philosophical definition, though enclosed by high walls of traditionalism.

The foremost representatives of this traditionalism were highly cultured gentlemen, writers, philosophers and historians, who time and again held leading positions in the government. We shall

¹ Quoted in MacGowan's *Imperial History of China*, p. 436.

return to some of them presently; here should simply be mentioned in passing men like Ou-yang Hsiu, the brilliant essayist, the Ssü-ma Kuang, the historian who for many years was a respected leader among the conservatives, and above all Su Tung-p'o, whose noble character and sympathy with the common people no less than his brilliant qualities as a poet and a writer made him – as pointed out in our remarks on his political activities – beloved by everybody who was in harmony with the spirit of old China. All these men and some of their friends served for longer or shorter periods in the government, but their official careers were brusquely cut short time and again by a growing opposition from their more successful opponents, whose belief in radical reform and in their own superiority was stronger than their respect for the cultural traditions of the country.

It should be remembered, however, that Wang An-shih, ruthless as he showed himself in political and economic matters, had a great respect for learning. He was himself a prominent student of the Classics, of which he arranged an edition "in order that the people might understand the real meaning of the *Canon*", the idea being to make the Classics accessible to a wider circle and by raising the general level of education to destroy the monopoly of culture enjoyed by the Confucian scholars. For the same purpose the public schools were developed and increased in numbers, so that there was one in every sub-prefecture, and colleges for law, medicine and military affairs were opened in the capital. Most important, however, were the reforms in the examination system by which it was made more practical and efficient for the preparation of State officials. Instead of simply having to write essays on poetical and philosophic subjects, the candidates were required to answer questions referring to the ancient and modern laws of the country and also to the principles of astronomy and other sciences; they were also expected to have some idea of political economy and to "know how to initiate necessary reforms".

One of the most valuable and lasting expressions of the intellectual life of the Northern Sung period was the literary activity, here in particular the poetic and philosophical writings of Su Tung-p'o and various historical publications by Ou-yang Hsiu, Ssü-ma Kuang, and a few others. Ssü-ma Kuang's history of China from 403 B.C. to A.D. 959 received its name *Tzū-chi t'ung-chien* (Mirror of History) because, as the Emperor said, "to view antiquity as it were in a mirror is an aid to the administration of government". It was the result of twenty years of documentary research and comprised no less than 354 chapters distributed over a great number of volumes. It remained for a long time a standard work, and has served as a basis for later publications. But besides the *T'ung-chien* several other books of importance dealing with scientific, philological, archaeological, historical or kindred subjects were produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and also some encyclopaedic publications in which materials of earlier date were incorporated and thus saved from complete loss. The most famous among these encyclopaedic publications are Chêng Ch'iao's *T'ung-chih* (containing mainly scientific material), Li Fang's *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, and Ma Tuan-lin's *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, which forms a continuation to Chêng Ch'iao's work.

The historical studies of the period, however, were not confined to documentary research work and literary writings, but also directed towards the archaeological material excavated from old tombs and dwelling sites. This was to some extent made accessible to students in large illustrated publications which ever since have remained of fundamental importance for the study of Chinese antiquities in bronze and stone. Foremost among these archaeological publications should be mentioned *K'ao-ku t'u* by Lu Ta-lin and *Po-ku t'u*, the catalogue of the emperor Hui-tsung's great archaeological collections mentioned above.

These publications and some similar ones, such as Wang Fu-chai's *Chung-ting k'uan shih* and the

famous *Chin-shih lu*, deal principally with bronze vessels and bells excavated from the tombs of ancient dynasties, which were collected not only by the emperors but also by private people as, for instance, Li Kung-lin, the great painter, who is said to have paid very high prices for some of his antiquities. Collecting had by that time become a fashion among the cultured, and though the interest was largely centred on inscriptions, yet the objects were also studied in their relation to ancient ceremonies, ritual and institutions. The Sung scholars "made thus two great contributions towards the gradual building up of an antiquarian science in China, namely epigraphical study and the identification of forms".¹

The contributions made by the Sung scholars in the antiquarian field have probably been of greater importance for later generations than their contributions in other fields of historical or scientific research. It may, however, be noted in passing that the earliest treatise on Chinese architecture, *Ying-tso fa-shih*, was brought out at this time by a man called Li Chieh (d. 1110) who for many years was active as a builder of temples and halls in the capital. There were also books published on fruit-bearing trees, flowers, etc., and descriptions of foreign lands by people who had travelled as diplomatic envoys or on commercial missions not only to neighbouring countries like Korea but also in southern and western Asia as far as India and Arabia, and even in Africa. And the expansion of the geographical horizon in turn gave stimulus to an increasing intellectual curiosity.

All these new departures in fields of historical study and quasi-scientific research were encouraged by a philosophical outlook which had little in common with the traditional currents of meditative Buddhism or Taoistic speculation which had served as sources of inspiration for religious people during the preceding epoch of the Five Dynasties. The old forms of monastic Buddhism were declining, yet the stream of Buddhist thought was still sufficiently strong to serve as a life-giving current for artists as

well as for philosophers even though within the framework of the Confucian principles. This gave rise to the so-called Neo-Confucian system which was "an attempt to put into orderly form what the educated believed about the universe" (to quote Latourette) or in other words, to formulate a comprehensive philosophy that could satisfy intellectual speculation as well as religious devotion. It contained elements of Taoist lore and Mahāyāna metaphysics as well as the Confucian precepts on morals and statecraft tied together with thin ribbons of rationalistic reasoning. It was a secular movement led by scholars and statesmen; "its ideals were the extension of knowledge and the perfection of individuals", to use the definition by Hu Shih, who points out furthermore that "the perfection of the individual was not an end in itself; it was only a step towards the larger task of better ordering the family, the state and the world. The end was social and political".² Yet it served the same purpose as a religion.

It may thus be said that the Sung scholars who found new meanings in the Confucian writings "rediscovered a new classical past just as the humanists of the European Renaissance rediscovered a new Greece and a new Rome which had escaped the attention of the Middle Ages".

The final systematic formation of this philosophy was not accomplished until the end of the twelfth century by Chu Hsi (1130-1200), when the Southern Sung empire had passed its zenith, but the current of thought by which it was prepared and nourished had some prominent representatives during the previous generations such as Shao Yung (1011-1077) and Chou Tun-i (1017-1073), both reckoned among the Confucian scholars, though their writings are strongly coloured by Taoist and Buddhist ideas. Still greater importance is attached to the writings by Ch'êng Hao and Ch'êng I (1033-1107).

¹ Cf. Chi Li's article "Archaeology" in *Symposium on Chinese Culture*, ed. by Sophia H. Chen Zen (1931).

² Hu Shih's article, "Religion and Philosophy", in *Symposium on Chinese Culture*.

The latter, who is considered the founder of "Rational Confucianism", laid down the following fundamental precept: "For moral cultivation we must practise reverence; for intellectual improvement we must extend our knowledge to the utmost" – two phrases which Chu Hsi called "the two wings of a bird, or the two wheels of a cart". They became, so to speak, the pivot around which this whole system of rational philosophy thenceforth revolved.

Chu Hsi as well as his predecessor Ch'eng I pointed out that as there is in the human mind a knowing faculty and in everything a reason, "the student should consider all things under the sky, beginning with the known principles and seeking to reach the ultimate. After sufficient labour has been devoted to it, the day will come when all things will suddenly become clear and intelligible."

The above statement by Chu Hsi about the "inner reason" of things and the need of search and application to realize it, reminds us of certain utterances by Su Tung-p'o in regard to the creative activity of painters (to be quoted in the next chapter), whereas the sudden enlightenment hinted at as a final stage in the research, sounds very much like the opening of the "inner eye", the sudden perception, which to the Ch'an Buddhists was the essential stage in gaining knowledge. The connec-

tion with this kind of Buddhist thought made Chu Hsi's system more congenial to the artists than earlier forms of Confucianism.

The Neo-Confucian endeavour to reconcile various currents of Chinese religious philosophy did not reach its full expansion until the re-establishment of the Sung government in Hangchou after its disaster in the north. The mellow and tolerant spiritual atmosphere which prevailed in the southern capital was evidently more propitious for the development of a synthetic philosophy. It was, to begin with, characterized by a suppleness of thought and a vague tolerance that appealed to artists and aesthetes, who were less interested in systems of philosophy or dogmatic religion than in ideas which served to arouse the intuitive faculty in man and to set free the creative forces of his soul. But the highly eclectic character of this system of philosophy, made up of elements from so many various sources, contained also the seeds of a gradual decay. While retaining its importance as a kind of classical standard for the interpretation of the Confucian teachings, it became in later ages, after the collapse of the Sung realm and its cultural institutions, a bulwark of crystallized thought more effective for the preservation of national traditions than as an incentive to new efforts in the field of intellectual or artistic activity.

Gentleman-painters and Calligraphers

I

Su Tung-p'o and Wên T'ung

THE CREATIVE activity which followed after the magnificent upsurge of landscape-painting described in the preceding chapters was of a more general kind, comprising profane and religious figure-painting as well as bird, flower and bamboo-painting, besides landscapes, and it was carried on by men of a high intellectual standard. To most of these men painting was not a professional occupation but only one of the means by which they expressed their intellectual reactions to life and nature in visible symbols. Poetry and pictorial writing was to them of equal, if not of greater importance than painting, and they made their living as more or less prominent government officials when they could not depend on family fortunes. Though some of them were real masters of ink-painting as well as of calligraphy, they shunned the fame and position of professional artists and became known as "gentleman-painters", a designation which has been cherished by the great painters of China ever since and often discussed in their writings.

Artistic occupations such as painting and calligraphy were to these men activities to be pursued when at leisure from official duties or practical occupations. The foundation of their technical mastery was indeed in writing, a long and assiduous training in calligraphy which finally enabled them to transmit their thoughts with the same ease in symbols of nature as in conventionalized characters. Their art became thus a very intimate kind of expressionism or idea-writing, as it was called in later times, and as such a most significant product of the Chinese genius.

This kind of artistic activity, in writing as well as in painting, was well described by Su Tung-p'o in the following words: "My writing is like spring-water in abundance; it issues everywhere, no matter what the ground may be. Over the level ground it flows quietly murmuring, (covering) with ease a thousand *li* in a day. When it comes to mountains and stones, it winds around them and takes on their colour. Really, it is not to be defined. All I know is that it keeps on moving when it must move and ceases when it must cease."

The beauty of this art was indeed to no small extent connected with the apparent ease with which it was produced, but which after all could not be reached except through intense training and profound thought.

Su Shih (1036-1101), better known by his *hao*, Tung-p'o, is one of those outstanding personalities of Chinese history whose name will be remembered as long as ancient China has its place on the map of human culture. The reasons for this are mainly to be found in the fact that as a poet, a philosopher and an artist, as well as by his official activities and ability to rise superior to the shifting fortunes of life, he represented some of the most characteristic features of the Chinese genius. In spite of his being deeply steeped in the Buddhist religion and Taoist mysticism, an unprejudiced broadness of spirit made it possible for him to honour the Confucian philosophy, while his creative imagination, combined with a deep sympathy for all that lives and breathes in the realms of nature, enabled him to discover sources of poetic inspiration wherever he went. The

adversities of his life, due to personal and political conditions, were severe enough to break the spirit of an ordinary man, but Su Tung-p'o found refuge in his intimacy with nature and a philosophical attitude inspired by a kind of meditative Buddhism, sometimes tinged with Taoist practices. Battered like an old fir by recurrent storms, stripped by the vicissitudes of fortune of all material benefits, he yet preserved through it all his faith in human nature and his balance of mind.

This is not the place to dwell on the chequered career of Su Tung-p'o, or to enter into descriptions of his accomplishments as an official and a statesman (shortly referred to in the Introduction) or as a philosopher and a poet, occupations by which he contributed to the welfare of the people and the intellectual life of his generation. The reader who is desirous of more information about these phases of Su Tung-p'o's biography can find it in recent books.¹ We must here limit ourselves to some observations on his artistic activities as a painter and calligraphist and a few quotations from his numerous writings on art. It is by these and by some of his poems rather than by any surviving pictures that his artistic personality becomes tangible to us.

Su Tung-p'o must have painted various kinds of studies from nature, if we may judge from contemporary records and titles of his paintings, but the motifs that interested him in particular were bamboos and old withered trees beside stones and water. These possessed in various degrees of pictorial transformation such qualities of suppleness and strength that might be interpreted as corresponding to certain fundamental features in the character of a gentleman; they offered him opportunities to express in spontaneous ink-paintings certain sides of his own nature.

Are any of these pictures still to be seen? The question has been differently answered depending on the more or less critical attitude of the historians and their eagerness to find Su Tung-p'o's aesthetic ideas transmitted into paintings, but it must be admitted that none of those pictures which today pass under

his name has won general sanction as an authentic work by the master. Most among them are small bamboo paintings, i.e. pictures of single stems of growing bamboo or a few cut-off branches. It would be easy to mention half a dozen of such examples which probably since the Ming period have passed under the master's name, but as none of them can be accepted as his own work, it may not be necessary to dwell on them here. Su Tung-p'o has so often expressed himself on bamboo-painting and has characterized the spirit and technique of this kind of painting so distinctly and beautifully, that it would be a pity to blur his words by misleading illustrations. We shall return to some of these descriptions by Su Tung-p'o in connexion with our study of Wên Tung's bamboo-paintings. But before turning our attention in this direction it may be interesting to consider one or two other pictures.

They are not bamboo-paintings but studies of old trees and stones, and their historical interest is increased by the fact that they illustrate or correspond very closely to Mi Fei's succinct definitions of Su Tung-p'o's motifs and brush-work (as quoted below). And what is more, one of these pictures is accompanied by an autograph colophon by Mi Fei.²

The picture, which is in the form of a short handscroll, represents an old withering and curiously twisted tree and some tender bamboo shoots growing at a large water-modelled stone. It is executed with rather dry ink and a harsh sweeping brush and seems altogether more remarkable for its simplicity than for any outstanding pictorial effect. It contains a great number of private seals some of which may be of the Sung period and is accompanied by four colophons, partly written on separate sheets (Pl. 180). The first of these is signed by a man called Liu Liang-tso and contains the following:

¹ *The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o with Introductory Essays and Notes*, by Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark. Shanghai, 1935. *The Gay Genius. The Life and Times of Su Tung-p'o*, by Lin Yü-t'ang. New York, 1947.

² The scroll is known to me only in a facsimile reproduction (probably made in Japan); I have no information as to its whereabouts. Cf. Pl. 180.

"My friend Fêng Chi-yün from Jun-chou, who retired from official life and devoted himself to Tao thirty years ago, is now over seventy years old, but his hair and beard are still black, and his words and manners harmonious. As he showed me Tung-p'o's picture of a tree and a stone, I composed a poem to it and asked old Hai-yüeh (Mi Fei) to write another poem. Liu Liang-tso from Shang-jao."

The poem is short and of no special interest. Mi Fei's somewhat longer poem is written in an easy flowing style which is considered authentic by experts on writing. It may not be a masterpiece of calligraphy, but it is written in a spontaneous fashion that would be extremely difficult to imitate or copy exactly. Consequently it may be said to increase the historical importance of the scroll, but it cannot be accepted as a proof of the picture as an authentic work by Su Tung-p'o. In this respect I would reserve opinion as long as no other equally acceptable picture by Su Tung-p'o has become known and at the same time point out that the man who painted this sketch was not a superior master of the brush. But who can tell nowadays to what extent Su Shih himself was a great painter?

The other picture to which reference was made above is a large album-leaf, formerly in the Manchu Household Collection and now in the Hui-hua kuan in Peking. It is attributed to Su Tung-p'o in a marginal inscription, which may be of the Ming period, and has been reproduced time and again as an example of the master's brush.¹ The motif is here a deeply split and crevassed rocky ledge from which two old trees are stretching out their curving trunks and twisting branches. There is water below but it is not clearly divided from the sky, where two white herons are sailing on outstretched wings, while other birds are standing on the rocks. The poetic atmosphere of the motif is brought out with a sensitive brush in a rather fluent pictorial manner that to our knowledge was not developed before the South Sung period. The attribution to Su Tung-p'o may have been caused by the motif rather than by the actual brush-work. As said above, pictures of this

kind by Tung-p'o are mentioned by Mi Fei in a passage in *Hua-shih* from which the following may be quoted:

"Su Shih, Tzū-chan, painted his bamboos in ink with one stroke of the brush from the ground to the top. I asked him why he did not paint them in sections (divided by joints)? To which he answered: 'Do the bamboos grow in sections?' His ideas and his style were derived from Wên T'ung. He said himself, that he burned incense in honour of Wên."

"The manner of using deep ink in the foreground and diluted ink towards the background was first introduced by Wên-k'o. In painting his bamboos he gave their very essence. Tzū-chan painted the old trees with their branches and trunks contorted excessively like dragons, while his wrinkled and sharp rocks were queerly tangled like sorrows coiled up in his breast. . . . When I came from Hunan and passed through Huang-chou I saw him for the first time. He was jolly with wine and said: 'Sir, paste this paper on the wall; it is Kuanyin paper'. Then he stood up and made two bamboos, a withered tree and a strange rock."

Mi Fei's interpretation of Tung-p'o's dragon-like old trees and wrinkled rocks, "queerly tangled like sorrows coiled up in his breast", is certainly not simply a poetic transcription of their pictorial character; it leads beyond the visual impression and makes us realize that the critic's appreciation of these simple pictures was coloured by his intimate knowledge of Tung-p'o as a man and a friend. The courage, the firmness in adversity and superiority to the petty follies of life which Su Tung-p'o demonstrated in his life, could not but make a deep impression on his friends, including even a critical mind like Mi Fei, and open their eyes to the fact that whatever he did as a painter was not just a play with the brush but an expression of his inner nature, the soul of the man.

Su Tung-p'o himself has often returned to this central problem in the creative activity of the

¹ It is reproduced, for instance, in the *Ch'ing-kung ts'ang* album and in Ferguson's *Chinese Painting*, p. 100.

painters and tried to explain how the true artists reveal their characters in their pictorial compositions. He did it most beautifully in his poems and colophons on the bamboo-paintings by Wên T'ung, his unforgettable friend and teacher, whose prominent place in Chinese art-history as the foremost of the nearly innumerable bamboo-painters is due to Su Tung-p'o's interpretations rather than to the scanty remains of his art that may still be found. The two men complete each other as artists and neither of them can be known independently.

When T'ung, better known under his *tzü* Yü-k'o and the *hao* Ching-chiang tao-jên, was born in Szechuan c.1020. He passed the chin shih examination in 1050 and became a magistrate in Hu-chou (Wu-chêng) in Chekiang and probably spent most of his life in this subordinate position, finding more satisfaction in painting bamboos than in any official duties. His death in 1079 meant a great loss to Su Tung-p'o, who expressed his bereavement in some beautiful poems. A few of these and some of the descriptive colophons may here be inserted for a better understanding of the two painters. Wên T'ung's advice how to do bamboos may serve as an introduction; Tung-p'o transcribed it as follows:

"Painters of today draw joint after joint and pile up leaf on leaf. How can that become a bamboo? When you are going to paint a bamboo you must first realize the thing completely in your mind. Then grasp the brush, fix your attention, so that you see clearly what you wish to paint; start quickly, move the brush, follow straight what you see before you, as the buzzard swoops down when the hare jumps out. If you hesitate one moment, it is gone.

"Yü-k'o taught me thus; but I could not do it, though I knew it should be so. If one knows it in the heart but cannot do it, then the inner and the outer are not as one, the heart and the hand do not co-operate. That is the fault of insufficient study. Those who perceive things within themselves, but do not grasp them thoroughly, often think that they have completely understood the matter, but when it comes to the point they lose it right away, and

this does not apply only to bamboo-painting."¹

The real significance or secret of bamboo-painting has probably never been more tersely and convincingly expressed than in this transcription by Su Tung-p'o of Yü-k'o's teaching. And they make us also realize why this kind of painting was so highly esteemed by the gentlemen scholars (*chün tzü*) and was considered a test of their characters as well as of their mastery of the brush. Tung-p'o returns to these questions repeatedly, for instance in the following words by which he makes us realize the intensity of Yü-k'o's concentration whenever he was absorbed in the act of creation. To illustrate this mystery he refers to Chuang-tzü, who to Su Tung-p'o as well as to so many of the other painters was the expounder of the deepest secrets of the mind. Yü-k'o too was a Taoist at heart, and probably practised certain forms of Taoist or quasi-Buddhist meditation like Su Tung-p'o and Huang T'ing-chien.

"When Yü-k'o painted bamboos he was conscious only of the bamboos and not of himself as a man. Not only was he unconscious of his human frame, but sick at heart he left his own body, and this was transformed into bamboos of inexhaustible freshness and purity. As there is no more a Chuang-tzü in the world, who can understand such a concentration of the spirit?"²

Such marvellous paintings are no longer to be found; those which survive under the name of Wên T'ung in the Palace Museum collection are of a secondary order; close to the master in style perhaps, but not alive with his breath. Before we turn to them it may however be of interest to take note of Su Tung-p'o's description of Wên T'ung's way of working, his restless activity during certain years, and relative retirement at other times. The demand for his paintings was evidently very great, and there must have been a fair number, particularly of his minor sketches, in private collections.

"In his early years Yü-k'o painted his bamboos whenever he found some pure white silk or good

¹ Tung-p'o, *Shih-chi*, vol.27, p.17.

² Tung-p'o, *Shih-chi*, vol.27, p.17.

paper. He grasped the brush quickly, brushing and splashing with it quite freely. He simply could not help (doing) it. Whoever came to his house grabbed some pictures and carried them away. Yü-k'o did not trouble about them very much.

"In later years when he saw people placing brushes and ink-stone on the table, he recoiled and went away. And those who came to ask for pictures waited until the end of the year, but did not obtain anything. When someone asked Yü-k'o about his reasons for this (change), he replied: 'In former years I studied Tao, but could not reach it; I found no peace of mind and could not express it. Therefore I simply went on painting ink-bamboos, expressing my restlessness through them. It was like an illness. Now this illness is cured, nothing more remains to be done.'

"As far as I can see, Yü-k'o's illness is not yet cured. Is it not possible that it will develop again? I will wait for its development and take him by surprise. While he thinks that he is ill, I can take advantage of his illness - perchance I too may be ill." (1070, 7 month, 21 day.)¹

The most important among the pictures traditionally ascribed to Wên T'ung is the one which represents a long rather heavy bamboo branch bending in a double curve diagonally over the picture surface,² with a number of minor branches, garnished with an abundance of large pointed leaves, spread out in every direction. They form layers upon layers or clusters, but so skilfully has the painter modulated the ink tones that each leaf stands out as a unit by itself. The design as a whole is remarkably well balanced; it is dominated by the grand double swing of the main lines and fills out the surface perfectly. Yet it is not static; there is movement in the serried masses of twigs and leaves, a suggestion of life-breath within the strictly controlled decorative design. It is a composition which in spite of its simplicity may be called monumental; it holds a place of its own at the head of the long series of Chinese bamboo-paintings and may indeed be the work of Wên T'ung, as asserted by a long tradition

and his seal on the painting. But whether the execution also is by himself or by a skilful imitator is a question to which I can propose no answer without renewed study of the picture itself. The general character of pictorial treatment may be said to confirm Mi Fei's observation that Wên T'ung used the darkest tones in the front leaves and lighter, more diluted ink on the leaves towards the background (Pl.182).

In addition to this important picture may be recorded here a smaller bamboo-painting likewise in the Palace Museum collection and reproduced in *Chung-hua wên-wu chi-ch'eng*, vol. IV, p.318. It represents a broken bamboo branch rising diagonally across a double album leaf. The composition is relatively simple and the leaves and twigs somewhat scattered in comparison with the larger picture, but the drawing is done with a firm and spirited brush. The reproduction of the picture is unfortunately too dark to allow any definite conclusions regarding the pictorial quality of the picture, but the signature is evidently a later interpolation (Pl.183).

The same may be said of the landscape scroll in the Metropolitan Museum which is inscribed with the painter's name. It is called *Autumn in the River Valley* and represents some mountain ridges in the dusky haze of late autumn. The design may well be inspired by some work of the master, but the brush-work can hardly be dated before the late Sung or Yüan period (Pl.184).

Wên T'ung's importance as a landscapist is, however, highly praised by the excellent connoisseur Huang T'ing-chien, in his colophon on a picture called *Evening Clouds*; he wrote:

"When I had examined it I remained deeply impressed for a whole day. It was just as free and unconventional as Wang Mo-ch'i's paintings and not inferior to Kuan T'ung's works. Master Tung-p'o has praised Yü-k'o for his faculty of combining many wonderful points in his (bamboo) paintings, but he never said a word about his merits as a

¹ *Tung-p'o, Ch'uan-chi*, vol.70.

² *Cf. Ku-kung*, vol.IX, Pl.182

landscape-painter. Maybe that Tung-p'o never saw such a picture of his? When I got hold of it I wanted to enjoy it for several months."¹

When Yü-k'o passed away in 1079, Su Tung-p'o expressed his sorrow in several poems and colophons. In one of these he asked: "Who was this man who found happiness in strolling about, chanting poems like a careless Sage, and penetrating the mysteries of the bamboo? From time to time he did a tree or a stone, wild and strange, beyond all rules. The whole world considered them precious, but I am the one who appreciated them most. It has always been difficult for close friends to remain together. Death comes suddenly without waiting."

Su Shih even had some pictures by Yü-k'o engraved on stone in order to make them known to a larger circle of friends and preserve the design for a longer time. He tells about it in the following poem: "The bending bamboos growing at the home of the prefect of Ling-yang, by the cliffs to the north, were real hill-bamboos. One of them had not thrown off its covering and was eaten by worms, the other was hemmed in between the sides of a steep crevice. When my late regretted friend saw these two, he was impressed and made a picture of them. I obtained this ink-sketch and took it to Yü-ts'ê Kung(?) to have it engraved on stone, so that the strange and rare design may move the hearts and startle the eyes of connoisseurs and make them realize the noble character of my regretted friend, who was grieved and bent down, but not distressed, just like these bamboos."²

Yü-k'o's early death was a bitter bereavement to Su Tung-p'o. He had been to Tung-p'o (and to some other painters) not only a forerunner and a model in matters of art but also a teacher, a guide in a more general sense, who led them to sources of poetic and spiritual inspiration which refreshed their hearts and minds. Through his activity bamboo-painting acquired a deeper significance then heretofore and became the foremost artistic criterion of the gentleman-painters. In summarizing the merits of Yü-k'o after his passing, Tung-p'o wrote:

"My late friend Wên Yü-k'o was a genius in four different ways: 1. in poetry, 2. in ancient ballads (*ch'u tz'u*), 3. in grass-writing, 4. in painting. Yü-k'o often said: 'there is nobody in the world who knows me except Su Shih. He was the first to recognize my best qualities! Seven years have passed since Yü-k'o died, but only now do I see this work of his and write the following poem:

"The brush and yourself are both gone. Who can now pour fresh life into poetry? There is no one to swing the hatchet; only the materials are left. I mourn the man and break my strings." "³

The friendship between the two men has meant more for Chinese art than can be told in a few lines. It was productive of some excellent bamboo-painting and of some beautiful poetry. Yü-k'o's penetrating artistic perception and sensitiveness made Su Tung-p'o realize "the inherent reason" of things, the very essence of the artistic transposition, which he explained in one of his colophons as follows: "Among the ordinary painters of the world some know how to represent form, but the inherent reason of things is only grasped by superior scholars and men of genius. In Yü-k'o's paintings of bamboo and of stones and decaying trees this inherent reason is certainly to be found. Some of them are as if they were alive, some as if they were dead, some are warped like dried up and contracted fists, some are tall and slender, vigorous and luxuriant. The roots, the branches, the joints, the leaves, the pointed shoots, the thread-like veins, all exhibit innumerable transformations and they all differ from each other. But each thing is in its proper place in accordance with nature; and they all satisfy human thoughts, because they lead us to the gentleman's world."

Whatever word we may choose in rendering Su Tung-p'o's idea of the inherent "reason", "fitness", or "principle" of things, it seems evident that it should refer to the specific character and function of

¹ Quoted from *Tung-p'o shan-hu t'i-pa*. Selected by Huang Chia-hui, vol. II, p. 2.

² *Tung-p'o, Ch'üan-chi*, vol. 70.

³ *Tung-p'o, Shih-chi*, vol. 27, p. 14A.

everything in the universe, i.e. the conditions and qualities by which a thing or a being becomes significant, a quality which may be transmitted in works of art by the superior man, who knows how to co-operate with Nature and to penetrate into her secrets. It is a kind of inner visualization which is often described as an identification of the artist with his motif.

It may not be necessary here to enter into any attempt to explain this mystery of self-identification to which Su Tung-p'o refers as a pre-condition for the creative activity of the painters. He points out that just as Yü-k'o was transformed into the bamboos that he painted, so "Han Kan, when painting horses, was truly a horse", and the same was true in various degrees of other great artists such as Wang Wei, Wu Tao-tzu and Li Lung-mien, "whose spirit joined with ten thousand things".

This kind of complete absorption into the inner nature or meaning of a thing or a motif was apparently an experience akin to the so-called knowledge of Tao. It was a psychological state beyond the limits of sense perceptions and the reasoning mind, a vision of truth that could not be described in words but possibly revealed in works of art. It was eagerly coveted by Su Tung-p'o and some of the Taoistic philosophers and artists in his surrounding, who in order to reach it practised various forms of meditation with controlled breathing and other elements of yoga training in Taoist disguise, not to mention the use of certain pills or the elixir of immortality. Su Tung-p'o refers to these practices in some of his letters and journals, but he never became a slave to them or a drug addict,¹ although he enjoyed alcoholic liquor rather abundantly; it was to him a means to warm up the instrument and make the brush move more freely. Thus he wrote:

"When my dry bowels are refreshed with wine, the rapid strokes begin to flow, and from the flushed liver and lungs bamboos and stones are born. They grow in abundance and cannot be suppressed - I painted them on the snow-white walls of your house. All my life I have loved poetry as well as

painting; I have scribbled my poems and defiled walls with them and often been cursed in return. But you are not angry, you do not curse me, for which I am more than glad." (Pls. 177, 178.)

Su Tung-p'o's scope as a painter was rather narrow - he worked with the brush only "to satisfy his heart" - and the prominent place that he holds in the history of Chinese art is not due simply to his accomplishments as a bamboo-painter. His activity as an interpreter of the aims and methods of Chinese painting and as a prominent connoisseur of the old masters was certainly no less important in this respect and would merit a discussion far more thorough than has been possible at this place.

Su Tung-p'o was not an exclusive champion of monochrome ink-painting or the kind of "idea-writing" (*hsieh-i*) that formed his favourite medium of expression. In a colophon written on a mountain landscape by Han-chieh he praises Wang Wei and Li Ssü-hsün equally; each of them had a manner of his own, he says, but they both knew how to express the moods of nature. He does not notice any such differences between these two masters as caused the Ming critics to consider Wang Wei and Li Ssü-hsün as the fountain heads of two opposite currents of style in landscape-painting. His views are more comprehensive, he appreciates the kung-pi work of academic flower-painters like Ai Hsüan no less than paintings by Chao Yün-tzu, in which "the brushwork was quite sketchy but the idea fully expressed". Nor does he hesitate to place Ku K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei on a level with Wu Tao-tzu, because in spite of all primitiveness, he found in their works the convincing qualities of form and character which to him were most essential in painting. He refers to these as "the constant form" and "the constant principle", respectively, but does not propose any closer definition of these terms. Yet the following observations seem to offer a key to this central problem:

¹ Cf. Lin Yü-t'ang, *The Gay Genius*, chapter called Yoga and Alchemy, and our chapter on Huang T'ing-chien with references to Su Tung-p'o.

"Often in talking about painting I have said that human figures, birds, buildings and utensils all have their constant form (*hsing*), whereas mountains, stones, bamboos, trees, waves, clouds, and mist have no constant form but a constant principle (*li*).

"The loss of constant form is understood by everybody, but when the constant principle is wanting, there are even among connoisseurs some who do not understand it. All those painters who try to deceive the world and to create fame for themselves lean on things which have no constant form.

"However, the lack of constant form does not go beyond the formal loss, it does not spoil the whole thing; but if the constant principle is not right, the whole thing is ruined. With things which have no constant form, one must pay special attention to the constant principle. Among painters there are those who can render the form (*hsing*) in a minute fashion, but as to the principle (*li*), it can be ren-

dered only by high characters and men of superior talent."

The expressions used by the poet and philosopher to describe the painter's creative activity are pointers rather than definitions; they are not meant for intellectual analysis but merely to serve as door openers for an intuitive approach to the problem. The constant principle (*li*) here mentioned as a fundamental quality in painting is sometimes described as the inner form or soul of an object. It may be apprehended by the imagination of the poet – the man who possesses Tao – and "take shape in his heart" (to use another of Su Tung-p'o's metaphors), but if he does not possess art – the painter's brush – "it will not take form under his hand". It was the combination of both that made the gentleman-painter – the man who had grasped the essence of Tao, who had the spiritual will to apply this knowledge in his life, and the genius to express it in symbols of pictorial art and poetry.

II

Huang T'ing-chien and the Art of Calligraphy – Some Gentleman-painters

THE AESTHETIC ideas of Su Tung-p'o and his friends may also be traced in their pronouncements on the art of calligraphy, which to them was a means of expression comparable to their beloved bamboo-painting. The importance of their activity as calligraphers is furthermore increased by the fact that while practically all their paintings are lost, specimens of their writings still survive and may be studied in excellent reproductions.

Westerners unfamiliar with the expressionistic subtleties of the Chinese brush may not be able to fully realize the significance of such specimens of the abstract form of art commonly called calligraphy, but the Chinese have never hesitated to place it on the same level as the so-called "idea-painting"

(*hsieh-i*). And, as previously explained, this appreciation is not based merely on the ornamental qualities of the script but on the realization of the fact that the rhythmic movements of the brush and the ductile quality of its strokes transmit the reverberations of the writer's thoughts and emotions, thus revealing something of his character and the inspiration of the moment, which all may be more easily perceived than explained.

It may thus be of interest in this connexion to turn for a moment to this form of abstract art called calligraphy, which flourished so abundantly in the Sung period and was beautifully explained by some of the greatest experts on painting. It may give us a better idea of the specific kind of Chinese genius

that found expression in gentleman-painting but no less in calligraphy, which thus in its own right became the most accomplished form of *hsieh-i* (idea-writing).

The most brilliant representative and expounder of this trend of art in the Northern Sung period was Huang T'ing-chien, who was one of the closest friends of Su Tung-p'o, and as a critic of painting and master of the brush was by no means inferior to him even though he never actually did a picture¹ (Pl. 179).

In his career as an official Huang T'ing-chien, like most of the members of the *Yü-yüan* (the conservative party), experienced sudden changes in the way of official promotions and humiliations, owing to vindictiveness of his political adversaries who were not prepared to accept any criticism or the publication of documents unfavourable to their regime even by the official historiographer, a position that Huang held for some time. But no political threats or vilifications made him change his opinion that "a history must not be a forgery". The consequence was that he had to leave for far off places more than once and sometimes live under wretched local conditions, but this did not break or dull his noble spirit, his belief in justice in human life, his habits of meditation, or his poetic inspiration and brilliant brushmanship.

He passed away in 1105, at the age of 70, four years after Su Shih (Tung-p'o) and two years before Mi Fei. At that time he was exiled in far away I-chou, living quite alone in a ramshackle old building where the rain dropped through the roof and the winds blew through the walls, but he "arranged his mat of meditation on the bed", and found some peace of mind. "He burned incense and spent most of the time writing poems, reading the Classics, and singing heartily. Sometimes he drank and felt happy."²

Reverting to Huang's practice of the art of calligraphy and his striking characterization of Su Tung-p'o's mastership in this art, we cannot do better than let him speak for himself:

I. "I am most fond of the calligraphy of Yen

Lu-kung. I always try to imitate it, and when I do so there is some similarity; yet I am in this far inferior to Su Shih. He (Tzū-chan) copied for me more than ten pieces of calligraphy by Yen Lu-kung, and they were so close to the originals that they all seemed like the children of one man, of different age, it is true, but all with the manners and characteristics of their ancestor."³

It is interesting to note that Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien both followed as closely as possible in the footsteps of Yen Chên-ch'ing (Lu-kung) the statesman and patriot of the eighth century, whose much admired style of writing was said to reflect his noble character; a man who held the same place in calligraphy as Wu Tao-tzū in painting and Tu Fu in poetry (Cf. Pls. 179, 181).

When Huang T'ing-chien had reached the age of 43, he wrote the following criticism of his own brush-work:

II. "Formerly Wang Ting-kuo told me that I was not a skilful writer. Skilfulness or unskilfulness is not a sufficient basis for estimating the relative merit of such things. I never agreed with him in my heart,

¹ It may be remembered that Huang T'ing-chien together with Chang Lei, *tsü* Wên-chien (poet and official), Ch'ao Pu-chih (painter and official), and Ch'in Kuan (the poet) were the foremost in Su Tung-p'o's circle of friends. They became known as "The Four Scholars", or the four pupils of Su Shih, and, to quote the *Sung History*, "T'ing-chien was the best among them as a literary writer. The scholars in Shu (Szechuan and Kiangsi) considered him equal to Su Shih as a poet and used to speak of Su-Huang (making them equal). When Su Shih was about to leave his position as an attendant to the emperor (Chê-tsung), he recommended Huang T'ing-chien as his successor and said that he was the greatest literary writer at the time, and that his filial piety and friendliness were like the virtues of ancient men. His by-name (*hao*), Shan-ku tao-jên, was taken from a temple in Anlu, which he often visited in his earlier years."

² According to *Kungai Hsiang-hsien shih-lüeh*, Huang T'ing-chien was in later times placed among the twenty-four examples of filial piety because of his self-sacrificing care of his mother during a whole year.

³ *Shu-shih hui-yao*, quoted in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9, p. 132. According to another quotation in the same book, he also studied in particular the calligraphy of Su Shun-ch'iu (Tzū-mei, 1008-1048), who was famous for his grass-writing, and furthermore "the noble and free works of Chang Huai-kuan and the monk Huai-mi" - a Buddhist priest of the seventh century, famous for his grass-writing and much admired by Li T'ai-po.

but when I now recall it (it seems to me) that Ting-kuo was right, because I did not know how to catch with the brush and how to let it go; consequently the characters showed no real brush-work. The brush-work must be in the characters what the seeing eye is in the words of the Ch'an masters. But if you do not really understand the import of the teaching, how could I explain it?"¹

The above lines contain probably one of the very best characterizations of the essential element in good calligraphy ever formulated by a Chinese writer: the brush-work, which is an alternation of how "to catch" and how "to let go", must impart soul or meaning to the characters, just as the "seeing eye" or spiritual vision perceives (or gives) the meaning in the mysterious pronouncements of the Ch'an masters (Pl.181).

The preconditions of good writing were, however, unimpeded speed, spontaneous freedom and unflinching concentration. The brush had to move without the least hesitation, uninterruptedly like the wind that raises the waves. Some inspiration for this could be gathered by contemplating rushing streams and the waves of the sea, but Chinese artists were also wont to facilitate this kind of swift and spontaneous brush-work by attuning themselves or warming up the instrument of nerves and muscles with wine. The result of the habit was sometimes more, sometimes less successful, depending on the quantities enjoyed and the writer's ability to support and absorb the stimulants. The following two colophons by Huang T'ing-chien are in this respect pertinent; the first describes his own experiences and the second those of his friend Su Shih.²

III. "When I was staying in the Hall of Happy Thoughts of the K'ai-yüan temple I often sat looking at the streams and mountains, at the same time practising grass-writing, for which they seemed to give some inspiration, whereas T'ien Chang-shih and Kuang-sêng (i.e. Huai-su)* relied on wine as a stimulant to reach the wonderful. For fifteen years I abstained from wine, and though I tried my best to make good (as a writer), my tools were not sharp-

ened, the brush was often feeble and stumbling. It seemed indeed that my writing was not so good as when I was drunk. Ku Kuang, however, said in his poem on the old court lady who had been dismissed: 'She seemed to the people just as in days of yore.' So does the grass-writing of Shan-ku."

IV. "Tung-p'o was very liberal with specimens of his calligraphy, but one should not ask for them. Indeed, he scolded quite severely those who asked, and did not give them the least scrap of writing. When in the Yüan-yü period (1086-1093) we were both locked up in the Li-pu (i.e. as examiners), he often came to see me, and whenever he found some paper on the table, no matter whether it was coarse or fine, he would cover it all with his writings. He was very fond of wine, but could not support more than four or five cups. This was enough to make him absolutely drunk, and without taking leave or saying thanks he would fall asleep, and begin snoring, making a noise like thunder through his nose. After a while he would wake up and start writing like a storm-wind, and although the writing was done in a jokingly playful manner, it was very expressive. Truly he was one of the divine Immortals, none of the present-day masters of the brush could compete with him."

Huang was convinced that people even in the far future would admit that Su Shih was the foremost calligraphist of the Sung period, as expressed in the following colophon on "Tung-p'o's Ink Remains".

V. "In his youth Tung-p'o, the Taoist, studied the

¹ Quoted from *Shan-ku t'i-pa* in *Shu-hua fang*, vol.9, p.22.

² These two colophons as well as all the following ones quoted below are published in the *Tung-p'o shan-ku t'i-pa*, selected and edited by Huang Chia-hui. The reprint was originally made from a copy of the text found in Liu-li ch'ang in Peking by a man called Sun Ch'üan, who republished it at the end of the eighteenth century in co-operation with Wéng Fang-kang, one of the collectors and connoisseurs of the Ch'ien-lung period. A later reproduction of this edition has been produced by the *Chung-hua t'u-shu kuan* in Shanghai (no date).

* T'ien Chang-shih or Chang Hsi, poet and famous writer of grass-script in the eighth century. He was one of the Eight Immortals of the Wine-cup and became known as the "Divine Grassist". See Giles, *Biogr. Dict.* 39. The monk Huai-su was likewise a specialist in grass-script. See Giles, *op. cit.*, 833.

Lan-t'ing manuscript (by Wang Hsi-chih). Through this his writing became very beautiful and elegant like Hsü Chü-hai's work. When he had enjoyed wine he became carelessly extravagant; his mind was freed from both skill and dullness, and the characters became very lean and strong just as in the writing of Liu Kung-ch'üan (Ch'êng-hsüan).¹ In his middle age he often studied Yen Chên-ch'ing's² and Yang Fêng-tzū's³ writings, and in combining them he was not inferior to Li Po-hai (Li Yung).⁴ His well-finished brush-strokes and superior rhythm together with his profound literary culture and his spirit of absolute loyalty, which was brighter than the sun and the moon, made him the foremost calligraphist of the present dynasty, and even after centuries there shall be people who will acknowledge my words" (Cf. Pls. 177, 178).

Another most effective means for developing the intense concentration and detachment from physical impediments necessary for superior calligraphy was the practising of the "arts of Tao". This was supposed to serve as a method for obtaining full control of the mental and emotional instruments. Su Shih speaks very freely about it and indicates certain details of the method, but it seems nevertheless that such psychic exercises were more temporary experiments than regular habits with Chinese scholars. The connexion between Su Tung-p'o's interest in the "arts of Tao" and his calligraphy is brought out by Huang T'ing-chien in the following colophon:

VI. "Tung-p'o always loved the arts of Tao. When he heard about such things he at once put them into practice; but he was never able to keep on for any length of time. He gave them up again. The notes in which he has discussed Tao and which have been preserved, contain hundreds of thousands of characters, and the way in which they are written reflect his intentions exactly. His literary style is always vigorous and original, quite extraordinary and unlike other men's way of expression.

"There was once a Taoist from somewhere out in the sea who commented on Su Tung-p'o and said

that he was truly a banished Sage from the Islands of the Immortals (P'êng-lai, Ying-chou and Fang-chang), but that common people are too hasty in drawing their conclusions from a man's misfortunes and adversities. They praise him or blame him according to the trouble of the moment and the seasons of danger (*Analects*, IV, Chapt. V); the least ups and downs give cause to praise and blame. What a thoughtless habit!"

In some of his colophons dealing with the essential qualities in art Huang T'ing-chien enlarges the field of observation, making it include painting as well as calligraphy. The central criteria are practically the same in the two arts, as pointed out in the following writing on a copy of a picture representing the T'ang general Kuo Tzū-i. The writer refers here to another picture by Li Kung-lin representing a general of the Han period in full action in which the great master had succeeded in suggesting the reverberation of the life-breath (*ch'i yün*) by representing an action on the point of being released:

VII. "In calligraphy and painting one should above all look for *yün* (the rhythm or the resonance of the vital breath). Once Li Po-shih painted for me a picture of Li Kuang⁵ capturing the horse of a Tartar. He was holding the Tartar with his arm, racing towards the south and at the same time grasping the Tartar's bow, drawing it to its full length and aiming at his pursuers. One could see how the arrow was directed: if it had been shot off, the men as well as the horses would have reacted to

¹ Liu Kung-ch'üan (778-865), who was promoted to high posts because of the beauty of his handwriting. When the emperor asked him: "How can you write so exquisitely?" He replied: "I guide my brush by my heart, I keep my heart correct, and my brush follows." Giles, *op. cit.*, 1325.

² Yen Chên-ch'ing (709-785). A firm and uncompromising character with a very chequered political career. Celebrated calligraphist. Giles, *op. cit.*, 2462.

³ Yang Ning-shih, tzu Fêng-tzū, a calligraphist of the Five Dynasties period.

⁴ Li Yung, hao Po-hai (678-747). A great literary student who time and again got into political trouble. Famous writer of epitaphs, inscriptions and the like. Giles, *op. cit.*, 1242.

⁵ The so-called Flying General of Han Wu-ti. Cf. Giles, *op. cit.*, 1159 and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's original account.

it, Po-shih said smilingly: 'Common painters would certainly have represented the pursuing horsemen hit by the arrow'. In a flash of intuition I perceived that the way of doing this is really the same in painting and in literary composition. But it is difficult for ordinary men to reach a spiritual comprehension."

Several of Huang T'ing-chien's colophons on works by contemporary masters contain ideas of general significance which throw some light on the aims and methods of the painters. One or two examples may serve to illustrate his point of view. The following was written on a picture by Chao Kung-yu (active 825-840):

VIII. "This picture is in the collection of Li T'ai-yüan in I-ch'uan (Anhui), and is considered to be a work by Chao Kung-yu. I examined it and found it truly wonderful in its brush-work. No common painter could have made it.

"In my early days I did not understand painting, but by practising Ch'an (meditation) I learned the merit of non-exertion, and by studying Tao I learned to understand the perfect Tao which is beyond all trouble. Then, when looking at pictures, I could completely distinguish between the skilful and the weak, the noble and the vulgar parts, penetrating into the smallest details and grasping their mysteries. But how can this be explained to those who have seen only simple things and have little experience?"

In the following *t'i pa*, which was written on a bamboo picture by Yang K'o-i, Huang opens the door into the painter's spiritual workshop where the conception takes place and the creative activity is prepared. He insists on the fundamental condition that this should proceed in accordance with the creative process of Nature, spontaneously and without any apparent effort on the part of the creator, even though the artist has a definite intention in mind. Such was the way of the old masters and handicraftsmen who understood the meaning of Tao and knew how to apply this knowledge or experience to their practical work, as did the cook of

Prince Hui and the carpenter Ch'ing, who made the bell-frames. The examples borrowed from Chuang-tzu are the same as those chosen by Chang Yen-yüan when he describes Wu Tao-tzu's supreme mastery in wielding the brush. The fundamental principles of appreciation were the same as in the T'ang period, even though the intellectual presentation of the problems had been modified.

IX. "If the painter has some sprays of bamboo in his mind before he starts, the stems and leaves will become luxuriant, but if he has the complete bamboo in his mind, his pictorial work will be in accordance with the creative process of nature. The boatman who handles the boat without looking at it, does it simply by experience. Now, if one acts intentionally in the same way with brush and ink, the work will become just like the works of the Creator. How could one achieve it in any other way?

"The cook who cut the bullock, and the carpenter Ch'ing who made the bell-frames,¹ were both men who turned on the same pivot as those who possess the luminous spirit and will of the gods. Their minds were not obstructed by a single thing, and therefore they could reach the wonderful.

"If the painter is seeking the approval of the common crowd, and is inwardly insufficiently prepared, he will make a dog when trying to paint a tiger, and draw willows when trying to paint bamboos, which indeed is not surprising.

"When I looked at these bamboos I knew that the

¹ The cook of Prince Hui and the carpenter are both described by Chuang-tzu as prominent representatives of Tao. The former said: "I have always devoted myself to Tao, it is better than skill. When I first began to cut up bullocks, I saw before me simply whole bullocks. After three years' practice, I saw no more whole animals. And now I work with my mind and not with my eye. When my senses bid me stop, but my mind urges me on, I fall back on eternal principles . . ." (Giles, p. 34.)

The latter said: "When I am about to make such a stand, I guard against any diminution of my vital power. I first reduce my mind to absolute quiescence. Three days in this condition and I become oblivious of any reward to be gained . . . I enter the mountain forest. I search for a suitable tree. It contains the form required, which is afterwards elaborated. I see the stand in my mind's eye and then set to work. Otherwise there is nothing. I bring my own natural capacity into relation with that of the wood." (Giles, *Chuang-tzu*, p. 240.)

painter had got hold of their life-breath (*ch'i yin*), and then, on inquiring about the master's name, I learned that it was Ko-i, (also called) Tao-fu, a nephew of my friend Chang Wên-ch'ien.¹ He seems to have had the same spirit as his uncle and to have been of a bright and refined nature. His literary compositions are of an uncommon kind, and if he had assimilated a thousand volumes, his paintings would be worth a thousand taels. Then he would have had no reason to rely upon Wên Hu-chou."

The following lines written on an anonymous landscape transmit a glimpse of Huang's sensitiveness to the moods of nature and to their transformation in painting. He was one of those who, according to his own words, had reached Tao, and consequently could recognize it and feel happy when discovering it in a work of art.

X. "The streams and mountains are deserted; the view is open and extending for thousands of miles. I am old now, and my hair is white, and as I look at this, my heart is touched. The men of old who had reached Tao withdrew into a state of abstraction beyond the limits of the life of common men. But when they met their likes they felt happy. (As said by T'ao Yüan-ming:) 'My heart has led a bondman's life, why should I still remain to pine? . . . I would rather fondle the moss and the stones between the cliffs at Shuang-ching and tell them what I think.'"

Huang did not advocate an exclusive study and pursuance of Tao at the cost of every other intellectual occupation. In the slightly humorous *i'i pa* written in the year 1089 for a friend called Yü Ch'ing-lao, he tells how this gentleman on the advice of Wang An-shih, made an attempt to change his mode of life from that of a gay and jesting scholar into that of a monk in a Ch'an temple. But the effort was not sufficiently sustained, and the success was short, which did not surprise Huang, because "it is difficult for an old tortoise to be kept in a box" (as said by Chuang-tzū). But it inspired him to a poem, that amused Su Shih, in which the experiences of the unsuccessful monk are attuned to

the wet and chilly atmosphere of a rainy autumn night with falling leaves and jingling carts moving incessantly along desolate roads.

XI. "Ch'ing-lao, or Yü Tzū-chung, from Chin-hua, studied with me three years ago in Huainan. When we met again in the *chia-tzū* year of the Yüan Fêng era (A.D. 1084) at Kuang-ling, he told me that Ching-kung (i.e. Wang An-shih) had urged him to take off the large-sleeved robe (the scholar's garment), to don the *sanghati* and to enter as a monk the Pan Shan temple, also known as the Pao Ning ch'an monastery. He gave me the monk-name Tzū-lin and the *tzū* Ch'ing-lao."

"As Ch'ing-lao was not impeded with a wife or children, he became a Tao-jên in the Pan-shan temple, yet he did not give up the habits of a layman. He talked and joked and wandered about at will, which to him seemed quite easy. But it is difficult for a living tortoise to be kept in a box.

"A few years later when I saw him again, he wore the scholar's cap, just as in former times, and I amused myself by writing a poem alluding to the ways of Ch'ing-lao. It said:

The rustling leaves are falling like the rain,
The moon is cold and far away; the night is far
advanced.
The horses neighing, and the bells are jingling on
the carts,
They move along in crowds and find no rest.
There was a man who dreamt that he would rise
above the common world;
He cut his hair and threw away the scholar's cap.
But as the dawn approached he looked in the
mirror,
And found that it was all too difficult for him.

Tzū-chan (Tung-p'o) used to recite this poem and found it most wonderful. In the 4th year of Yüan-yu, the 11th month, and 11th day (December 15, 1089), when returning home from the Secretarial

¹ Chang Lei (Wên-chien) 1046-1106, one of the "Four Great Scholars" or pupils of Su Shih, whose political fortunes and misfortunes were also his. Intimate friend of Huang T'ing-chien and Ch'ao Pu-chih. Giles, *op. cit.*, 84.

Office, I wrote this in the T'ui-t'ing hall south of the P'u-chih temple."

The philosophical ideas which formed the sustaining current in Huang T'ing-chien's life were, as we have seen, inspired by various sources. There was the Confucian code of morals, the "relationships", expressed in filial piety, loyalty and unfailing friendship, of which he gave excellent proofs, but there were also the metaphysics of Mahayana Buddhism, which had revealed to the philosopher wider spheres of life. In the colophon quoted below he expresses the conviction that unexpected fortunes and misfortunes which appear unintelligible are the harvests of seeds sown in former lives; and that a longer view involving the realization of fundamental justice should be a source of consolation for those who are stricken by misfortune. But "only by penetrating deep can one unravel all the innumerable phenomena of the world and see for oneself".

This penetration into the reality behind the shifting phenomena of the world was the general aim of Ch'an meditation consistently pursued by Huang during most of his life in spite of all its ups and downs. But if we may draw some conclusions from Su Shih's and Huang T'ing-chien's remarks referring to "the arts of Tao", these men were "never able to keep on for any length of time", nor did they venture to follow the example of Ch'ing-lao, who tried in vain to change the scholar's garment for the cowl of a monk. They remained in the world of human affairs, fulfilling their various duties as statesmen and scholars, but inwardly they found refuge in a world of thought and aspiration which was more real and inspiring to their souls, and from this realm of the spirit they revealed time and again, in their writings and paintings, glimpses which have illumined the minds and gladdened the hearts of many generations. The colophon by Huang T'ing-chien on "P'êng Ching-shan's portrait" contains a few such glimpses:

XII. "P'êng Ch'ung-jên (P'êng the Venerable and Virtuous), *tz'i* Ching-shan, served formerly in the

palace as a *ch'ung pan*. He was skilled in military arts and most careful in the performance of his official duties, which made him highly esteemed by all the scholars and officials. But unfortunately at the age of forty-four he lost his sight, and he has now lived for more than fifteen years in his home, incurably blind – like an old warhorse which is confined to the stable but longs to be far away, thousands of miles, and pricks its ears at the sound of the northern wind.¹

"If we look at things in the light of Tao, there are neither fortunate nor unfortunate conditions, but if we consider things from the point of view of gain and loss (reward and punishment), we may ask: Are there perhaps debts from a former life? But (as said by Mencius, VII, 18), 'Men who possess virtue and intelligence and prudence in affairs are often found in sickness and trouble'. Only by penetrating deep can one unravel all the innumerable appearances of the world and see for oneself. How can we know whether Ching-shan did not grasp this in his deep darkness?"

* * *

The men who gathered around Su Tung-p'o as their intellectual and political leader were all in one way or other prominent representatives of the artistic and literary culture of the period. Most of them were writers and calligraphists of considerable reputation, but some of them also became well-known as painters. Among these should be mentioned Ch'ao Pu-chih, one of the "Four Great Scholars" or "Four Pupils of Su Shih". He was a few years younger than Huang T'ing-chien and the poet Ch'in Kuan, born 1053, died 1110, and from an early age a man of great artistic receptivity. Through incessant study and copying of the old masters he gained an extensive knowledge of their various manners. We are told, in *Hua Chi*, that "in painting Bodhisattvas he followed Hou Yü, in painting clouds and mist he followed Wu Tao-hsüan's (picture of) The Heavenly Ruler, for pine-trees and stones he followed Kuan T'ung, for buildings, grass

¹ Reference to a well-known poem by Tu Fu.

and trees he followed Chou Fang and Kuo Chung-shu, for fallen trees and creepers he followed Li Ch'êng, for cliffs, steep banks and dry trees he followed Hsü Tao-ning, for streams, mountain-ranges and horsemen with bows and arrows he followed Wei Hsien, for horses he followed Han Kan, for tigers he followed Pao Ting, for monkeys and deer I Yüan-chi, for cranes, pheasants and mice Ts'ui Po. He collected the good points of all these masters and combined them into beautiful things. His pictures were often copied."

Considering this long list of famous masters who served as models for Ch'ao Pu-chih, one cannot but wonder what he himself might have contributed to the paintings. The picture in the Palace Museum which represents Lao-tzu riding on a buffalo can hardly be said to offer an answer to this query. It is executed in a rather crude *p'o-mo* manner, probably not done before the sixteenth century, and cannot be taken seriously as an example of a famous Sung master. Ch'ao Pu-chih remains a name of some distinction in the literary world, but there are no authentic records of his skill as a painter.

The same is true of practically all the gentleman-painters and friends of Su Tung-p'o who are mentioned in *Hua Chi* (Vol.III). Most of them specialized in bamboo, but they also did birds and flowers and landscapes in ink. Tung-p'o's favourite son Su Kuo, *tzü* Shu-tang, who followed his father into exile on the island of Hainan, is said to have worked assiduously for many years under the guidance of his father, but how far he actually succeeded is more than we can tell. The little picture of a Mynah bird, reproduced in *Kokka*, No.200, could hardly be accepted as a testimony of a Sung master's brush.

Ch'êng Tang and Sung Tzû-fang were both greatly appreciated as bamboo-painters. The former stayed for many years on O-mei Shan in order to study in particular the famous "pusa bamboos" at the place. He followed in the steps of Wên T'ung, but no example of his art has survived. Sung Tzû-fang (*tzü* Han-chieh) became well known as the author of an Essay on the Six Principles of Painting.

He was a nephew of the famous old landscape painter Sung Ti and a close friend of Tung-p'o who wrote a well-known colophon to one of Sung's pictures in which he described the painter as neither old-fashioned nor modern, and says that "judging the works of the gentleman-painters is like examining horses. The thing to look for is the spirit (or life-breath) of the horse. Common painters often grasp only the skin and hair, the whip, the manger, and the fodder" — i.e. the outward appearance and accessories, but not the *li* or constant principle of the motif, which to Su Tung-p'o was the most essential.

Fan Chêng-fu, *tzü* Tzû-li, who had a successful official career, is characterized by Têng Ch'un, the author of *Hua Chi*, as a noble gentleman painter of bamboo and landscapes, but his life was cut short by murder.

Liu Ching, *tzü* Chü-chi, who came from Chien-chou in Szechuan, was probably not very intimate with Tung-p'o, because employed by Wang An-shih, who had him appointed a lecturer on the Confucian Classics, in which capacity he won the admiration of a large circle of students. He too painted bamboos and old trees but the only work by him that is known to us is a large album leaf¹ with the study of a monumental crab which is feeding voluptuously on the grains of a tall plant bending over the animal. The quaint motif is rendered with great exactness and a touch of humour (Pl.221).

The list of the gentleman-painters, who amused themselves with painting when not occupied with official duties, could easily be continued, because they formed a numerous class during these fruitful years of the Northern Sung dynasty, but since so very little of their art remains we cannot dwell upon them further here. They were as a rule highly cultured men, rooted in the spiritual traditions of ancient China (including Taoism) but at the same time supporters of the Confucian moral and social organization; in other words, representatives of the Chinese genius in philosophy and art as well as men of practical ability who served their country well.

¹ Reproduced in *Ch'ing-kung ts'ang*.

III

Mi Fei and Mi Yüan-hui

I

MI FEI was another of the highly gifted gentleman-painters, and in this respect akin to Su Shih, but otherwise a rather different and a strongly marked personality. He was not a poet, nor a philosopher in the same sense as Su Tung-p'o or Huang T'ing-chien, yet he was by no means less brilliant intellectually. With his very keen faculty of artistic observation in conjunction with wit and literary ability he established for himself a prominent place among Chinese art-historians; his contributions in this field are still highly valued, because they are based on what he had seen with his own eyes and not simply on what he had heard or learned from his predecessors (as so often was the case amongst the art-critics of China). Mi Fei had the courage to express his own views, even when these went counter to prevailing or official opinions.

His importance as a painter on the other hand is more closely connected with the fact that he has been extolled by later critics as one of the most important representatives of the "Southern School" of landscape-painting: the master who in the Sung period produced the most brilliant pictorial interpretations of the romantic ideals of the Southern School. In this respect he formed something of a counterpart to Kuo Hsi, who usually is classified as a protagonist of the Northern School. But important as Mi Fei may have been in this respect, as a painter and a calligraphist, it is no longer possible clearly to discern the reason for this from the pictures which pass under his name. There is no lack of such works, and most of them represent a rather definite type or pictorial style which survived far into the Ming period or later, but to what extent they should be considered as Mi Fei's own creations is still a matter of opinion. In other words, we know the general characteristics of his style, but we cannot be sure that the paintings ascribed to him represent the

rhythm and spirit of his individual brush-work as faithfully as the authentic specimens of his calligraphy which still exist. Mi Fei's position in the history of Chinese painting is thus similar to that of Su Tung-p'o in so far as it is based on historical records, his much admired skill as a calligraphist and his influence as a critic and writer on art rather than on pictures that bear his name. It is true that Mi Fei was neither a poet nor a philosopher, yet his notes about painting and calligraphy are of great interest to the art-historian, because they are spontaneous expressions of his own observations and independent ideas and serve to characterize himself as well as the artists whose works he discusses.

Mi Fei's actual name was Mi Fu, but as he later in life substituted the second character of the name with another "Fu" character, this became often mixed or confused with a similar character pronounced Fei,¹ and thenceforth he became known as Mi Fei. He was born in 1051 and died in 1107. His *tzü* was Yüan-chang, but besides this he used a great number of varying appellations (*hao*) such as Nan-kung, Lu-mén Chü-shih, Hai-yü Wai-shih and Hsiang-yang Man-shih, etc. The last name indicates his birth-place, *i.e.* Hsiang-yang in Hupeh, whither the family had moved from the ancestral home at T'ai-yüan in Shansi.

According to tradition, he was a precocious boy with a great fondness for arts and letters and a faculty of memorizing that was astounding. At the age of six he could learn a hundred poems a day and, after going over them again, he could recite them all. He enjoyed the particular favour of the emperor Jen-tsung's consort, in whose service his mother was employed; and he had to begin with, a successful official career as Chiao-shu-lang (Reviser of Books), Governor of Chang-chou, Professor of

¹ The philological puzzle is explained by R. H. van Gulik in his book *Mi Fu on Ink-Stones* (Peking 1938), p. 12.

Painting and Calligraphy in the capital, Secretary to the Board of Rites and Military Governor of Huaiyang. These frequent changes of official position were caused, we are told, by Mi Fei's sharp tongue and often outspoken criticism of official ways and means. He is said to have been a very capable official, but unwilling to submit to conventional rules and manifested a spirit of independence which caused him serious difficulties.¹

Mi Fei's striking appearance and peculiar manners were furthermore accentuated by his habit of dressing in the mode of the T'ang dynasty. "Anyone would be able to recognize him even though he had never seen the artist before"; and wherever he went, he attracted a crowd. His fondness of cleanliness became also proverbial. We are told that he used to have water standing at his side when working; he washed his face very often, though without using a towel, but he would never wash in a vessel that had been used by somebody else, or put on clothes that had been worn by another person.

Mi Fei's ruling passion had been since his early youth the collecting of old writings and paintings. When a boy he was assisted in this by his aged mother, who even sold her hair ornaments in order to secure him means for the purpose. The fortune he inherited was gradually lost on relatives, but he continued to collect and made every possible sacrifice to secure the specimens he wanted. To what extent he was dominated by this desire is illustrated by the anecdote according to which Mi Fei, when

he once was out in a boat with some friends, was shown a specimen of Wang Hsi-chih's writing, and this made him so excited that he threatened to jump overboard unless the owner made him a present of it; which consequently could not be refused.²

No wonder that Mi Fei's collection of writings and paintings gradually became a treasure-house of the first magnitude, and his simple abode a meeting-place for the greatest scholars of the time. "He was staying in a very poor house in the capital (i.e. when serving on the Board of Rites). When guests arrived he treated them to tea and showed them some of his art-treasures. The time was happily spent in writing and chanting poems in praise of the pictures."³ But as some of his guests were inspired by curiosity rather than by love of art and lacked the proper sense of quality, he arranged his collection in two parts, one that was kept secret, or only for a few selected friends, and another which could be shown to ordinary visitors. The scrolls of the former class were marked with the seal *Mi hsing mi-wan*, while those of the latter series were marked *Mi hsing ching-wan*. "The reason why I kept a *mi-wan* (secret collection) was my fear that people might touch the pictures with their fingers or wipe them with their sleeves. Whenever this happened I had to clean the pictures, and as the paper was very thin, the pictures could not stand repeated cleanings.⁴ Anybody who touched a scroll out of curiosity brought it nearer to its destruction."⁵

In his writings Mi Fei refers often to the paintings

¹ The records about Mi Fei were collected by Fan Ming-t'ai and published by him in *Mi Hsiang-yang chih-lin* (c.1600), but some anecdotic material is also found in *Shih-lin pi-shu lu*. Both sources are extensively quoted in *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang*, vols. 8 and 9. Mi Fei's own notes on painting, *Hua Shih*, and on Calligraphy, also contain some biographical information.

² Cf. Giles, *Introduction*, p.131 (without indication of the source).

³ *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9, p.28.

⁴ The cleaning of pictures was a most elaborate and delicate process which Mi Fei explains as follows in the so-called *Yüeh-shu t'ieh*; as included in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 8:

"Whenever I obtained a good scroll of calligraphy I would exhibit it to my friends, keep it beside my dining-table and carry it along when driving in a coach. Then after I had enjoyed it enough, I would, on a fine day, spread some paper on a clean

table and untroll the scroll, and then cover it up with another paper. This being done, I sprinkled it with a solution made of *Gladitsea Japonica* and let it soak for a while. When the covering paper was soaked through, I rolled it up into a ball and slowly cleansed the scroll. When all dirt and stains were gone, I turned the scroll over, pulled off the paper at the back, and thus got rid of whatever marks had been left there by handling. On the parts which were not cleaned, the process had to be repeated until all was clean and white. Then I would make some paste with my own hands by using olibanum, and cut off the stained edges of the *pai-fu chih* (paper of a hundred folios) only utilizing the middle portion to stick on the back of the scroll. After this was done, the scroll was pasted once more on a second paper and put away into another room."

⁵ *Yüeh-shu t'ieh*, quoted in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9.

and calligraphies in his collection. Some of them he had inherited but others he had acquired for high prices. His collection became the fruit of incessant study and of exchanging the less good for the better.

"The collection of my family contained a great number of old specimens of the Chin and T'ang periods, but to begin with I discarded a hundred scrolls. Nowadays there are only ten scrolls of the finest class, and if I find some more wonderful writings I shall go on discarding.

"Paintings of the Chin period should be carefully preserved, because such things are very rare. I have named my studio *Pao-chin chai* (The Studio of Chin Treasures). Whenever I enter it, I hang such pictures on the wall; such things can no more be found today.

"The prices of old writings and paintings should never be discussed. Scholars do not like to acquire such things for money; they prefer to exchange them between themselves, which is a more refined way of acquisition. When a man of today obtains such an old specimen it seems to him as important as his life, which is ridiculous. It is in accordance with human nature that things which satisfy the eye, when seen for a long time become boring; therefore they should be exchanged for fresh examples, which then appear doubly satisfying. That is the intelligent way of using pictures."

We shall have occasion in what follows to learn about the extreme care that Mi Fei bestowed on his art-treasures. He was something of a maniac in regard to the safeguarding, cleaning and exhibiting of his pictures. It may, however, be of some interest to insert here one of the anecdotes referring to his way of collecting, reported by himself in *Hua Shih*.

"With Fan Ta-kuei (*tzü Chün-hsi*) and his son-in-law Fu Chêng-kung, I went to Hsiang-kuo ssü and had with me 700 pieces of gold. At the place I bought a snow-landscape which was very old and torn into pieces but quite like those which are said to be by Wang Wei. We met Lin Po-yü, who smiled and asked: 'What have you bought?' I opened the picture in the crowd and showed it to him. Po-yü

said: 'Whose brush is this?' I answered: 'Wang Wei's', and Po-yü said: 'Right!' As we then strolled along for a while I lost sight of it. Where could it be found again? I had let Fan take care of it, but after a while I saw no more of Fan. Next day I went to ask for it, but he said that he had sent it to the Western capital to be remounted. My companion Mei Tzû-p'ing got very angry and said: 'I can serve you as a witness; you should start a lawsuit; this is not right'. But I smiled and said: 'He is my old friend; therefore I will make him a present of it.'

"This happened twenty years ago, and Fan has been dead ten years, but I still do not know where the picture is."

In the following lines Mi Fei gives a vivid account of the way in which he liked to show his precious scrolls to distinguished visitors.

"When Chancellor T'ang Chih-tung wanted to see my collection, he was permitted after I had told him my rules for enjoying the calligraphies. He agreed. I had two clean tables placed side by side and spread white paper and silk over them. I washed my hands and took out the scrolls from their respective cases myself and unrolled them for the visitor to see. He sat in front of the table with folded arms examining the scrolls with ease and care; when he said: 'Open!' I opened the scroll, and when he said: 'Roll!' I rolled. He sat there at the table looking very dignified, while I ran about like a servant; and this I was willing to do in order to save my scrolls from being touched by his fingers or sleeves . . . I was told by Su Hsia-chü that I should one day offend some of the high officials if I continued in this way. Offend them, I did, but my mind remained unchanged. I am about fifty now. When I am old and tired, I will give my collection to the Imperial Palace, and I am sure it will not be among the poorest."¹

This vivid illustration of Mi Fei's life as a collector and his passion for artistic values is complemented by another anecdote in the *Shih-lin Pi-shu lu*,² recording a visit of his friend Su Tung-p'o:

¹ *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9, p. 34.

² Quoted in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9, p. 39.

"Once he invited Su Tung-p'o to dinner. Two long tables were placed facing each other, and on them were piled fine brushes, exquisite ink and 300 sheets of paper, with some food and drink at the side. When Tung-p'o saw this arrangement, he laughed heartily and then sat down. Between each drink they would flatten the paper and write. Two page-boys were kept busy grinding the ink, but they could hardly keep up with the speed of the writers. Towards evening the wine was giving out, and so was the paper. Then each of them took the other's papers and said good-bye. Afterwards they found that they had never done better writing."

Writing or calligraphy was to these men intimately connected with the composing of poetry or sketching. It required an alertness of mind and spirit, which they were wont to increase by the enjoyment of wine. By this they reached a state of exhilaration rather than drunkenness. Su Tung-p'o himself says that it was only in this state that he could write the large grass characters and also the "small model characters" really well. His admiration for Mi Fei as a writer seems to have been very profound; he likens Mi Fei's brush to a sharp sword handled with consummate skill in fighting, or to a strong bow that could shoot the arrow a thousand *li*, piercing anything that might be in its way. "It was the highest perfection of the art of calligraphy. It was like Chung Yu (Tzū-lu) before he met Confucius - very aggressive and fond of fighting."

Other critics claimed that only Mi Fei could imitate the style of the great calligraphists of the Six Dynasties, which was "very firm and decisive, like riding on a noble steed which moves forward and backward at your will without any need of a bit or a whip" . . . "Its strength lay at the very point of the brush"¹ (PL185).

Mi Fei seems indeed to have been an excellent imitator of old calligraphies and paintings. Some of these imitations were so good that they were taken for the originals. It is also testified by Mi Fei's son that his father always kept some calligraphic masterpiece of the T'ang or the Chin period on his desk as

a model. At night he would place such a specimen in a box at the side of his pillow; and whenever he saw some fine specimen of ancient model writing, he would acquire it, no matter at what price.²

It may not be necessary to repeat here the practical advice that Mi Fei offered to students who asked him about the secrets of good brushmanship. They represent experiences and technicalities which hardly can be appreciated by Westerners who have never handled a Chinese brush. To Mi Fei the brush was not only the sword of his proud spirit but a magic rod, which imparted life whenever he wielded it, were it in writing or in painting. The two arts were to him essentially one and the same.³

* * *

If we may believe T'eng Ch'un, who wrote his *Hua Chi* about half a century after Mi Fei's death, the artist did most of his paintings during the last seven years of his life. The statement may be exaggerated, but it is worth quoting, particularly as it is given in words which are supposed to be Mi Fei's own:—"From the time when Li Po-shih was taken ill in his right arm I started to paint.⁴ As Li always studied Wu Tao-tzū, he could at last not free himself from the master, but I chose the most ancient masters as my models and did not make one stroke like Wu's. Nor was the effect of Li's brushwork very lofty. I painted the eyes, the faces, and the structure (of my figures) guided by my own genius and not by any teacher, and I represented the loyal men of antiquity."

¹ Quotations in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9.

² Ibidem.

³ In the epitaph, quoted in *Shu-hua fang* (vol. 9, p. 28) Mi Fei is particularly praised for his mastery as a calligraphist and for his courageous opinions:—"In your scholarly discussions you displayed your own opinions which were bold and stern, and the literati of the world were not able to curb them. In your thoughts and your literary style you did not plagiarize the men of the past; the things you said were extraordinary, dangerous, important . . . The characters you wrote were strong and vigorous, but displayed still more your refinement. They were marked by the style and beauty of works of the Chin and T'ang dynasties."

⁴ Li Kung-lin was taken ill about 1100 with severe rheumatism, which forced him to keep in bed and practically abstain from painting.

It may be that the above statement refers in particular to figure-painting, which was the special field of Li Kung-lin, but even so its critical tone with regard to Wu Tao-tzu and Li Kung-lin is surprising. Mi Fei may, indeed have felt the greatest admiration for Ku as a representative of the refined and old-fashioned style, which always appealed to his sensitive taste, and he may have copied Ku as he copied many of the early masters, but he could hardly have followed in his footsteps as a painter. The additional remarks that he painted according to his own genius and was not guided by any old masters, seem more to the point; in this respect he was, no doubt, more independent than Li Kung-lin. But whether he was a greater creative genius than Li (as he himself would like us to believe) is a different question, which we nowadays are hardly in a position to answer.

The pictures which still pass under the name of Mi Fei are in most instances suggestive renderings of clouds and mist around mountains and trees, but rather lacking in structural form and draughtsmanship. One consequence of this peculiarity and of his great fame was that from early times numerous imitations were made of his works, which are said to have been exceedingly close to the originals. We must therefore leave the question open whether any of the beautiful paintings mentioned below which carry Mi Fei's seal and signature, are his own works or those of some close follower like his son, Mi Yu-jên, "who had the spirit and the manner of his father", or Kao K'o-kung, or Fang Fang-hu, or some other gifted painter who continued his manner in the Yüan period, not to mention later imitators.

The pictures as a rule represent ranges of wooded hills or cone-shaped mountain peaks rising out of layers of woolly mist. At their feet may be water – sometimes broadening into open vistas – and closer towards the foreground clusters of dark trees, waving like big plumes against white mist. The elements of design and the manner of execution in these pictures are quite typical, but the individual accents are generally less obvious.

One of the best-known examples of this kind of Mi style is the small picture in the Palace Museum known as *Spring Mountains and Pine-Trees*. It is in the size of a large album-leaf, but at the top of the picture is added a poem said to be by the emperor Kao-tsung.¹ The mountains and the trees rise above a layer of thick mist that fills the valley; they are painted in dark ink-tones with a slight addition of colour in a plumy manner that hides their structure; it is the mist that is really alive. In spite of the striking contrast between the dark and the light tones the general effect of the picture is dull, which (to some extent) may be the result of wear and retouching. Owing to its faulty preservation the picture no longer does justice to the intentions of the painter, but it has apparently been accepted as a work by Mi Fei ever since the writing of the poem which, however, looks more like a copy than an original of the South Sung period.

The handscroll attributed to Mi Fei which used to be exhibited in the Wên-hua tien of the former National Museum in Peking, is a picture in better condition but with no acceptable claims on authenticity (Pl. 187). In one of his inscriptions the emperor Ch'ien-lung admits that the paper of this picture is not of the Sung period, yet he finds it "as beautiful as a work by Mi Fei". It represents a continuous view of humpy mountains and plumy trees rising through thick woolly mist and is painted in a somewhat blotchy manner which makes the mountains look as if partly covered with rough fur. The pictorial effect is quite striking and the design has a note of grandeur, but the mannerism in the brush-work produces a somewhat monotonous impression in spite of all the variations in tone. It has certainly not the spontaneity of an original creation, but may be a free transposition of a design by Mi Fei possibly executed by one of the very skilful Yüan masters of the fourteenth century.

Several pictures executed in the typical blotchy Mi Fei manner might here be mentioned, but as none of

¹ Cf. *Ku-kung*, vol. I. Ink and slight colour on paper. Size, 35×44 cm. Cf. Pl. 186.

them which have come under my inspection is of the period, it may not be necessary.¹ They would rather confuse than improve our idea of the master's artistic importance. The same may, in a general sense, be true of the large hanging scroll in the Freer Gallery (08, 671), but since it is a very beautiful picture, it should be remembered at this place as a superior representative of what is vaguely known as the Mi Fei style (Pl. 188).

The picture represents verdant hills emerging in successive tiers or ridges from a light grey mist that sweeps through the valley and blends in the background with a limitless expanse, while the trees lift their tops like dark swaying plumes over the sea of mist. The colouristic effect has been toned down by age and wear (and some retouching), but it is still felt as a soft harmony in grades of light and dark. These are, however, not produced simply by dabs or splashes of watery ink; in spite of the fact that the painting is done according to the so-called "boneless" manner, the hills and the trees are not simply fleeting shadows but cubic volumes with structure and three-dimensional form. The technical method without visible brush-strokes and contours is, indeed, pre-eminently colouristic but, when properly utilized as in this picture, it may also serve for the definition of form and space.

Most of the landscapes honoured with the name of Mi Fei are not of this quality, though painted in a similar manner with a broad and soft brush. Some may have been done in the South Sung period when the younger Mi still carried on the family tradition, others are of the Yüan period, when some of the leading painters freely utilized the manner of the two Mi for expressing their own ideas, but the majority are probably later, i.e. from the latter part of the Ming period, when Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang and his friends started a perfect cult of Mi Fei as the most important representative of the "Southern School". No one has expressed greater admiration for Mi Fei than Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang, and his transpositions of the Mi compositions are sometimes brilliant.

A systematic study of the various kinds of imita-

tions after Mi Fei made during successive periods would produce interesting tasks for a specialist and might lead to the conclusion that some of the most deceptive imitations are not of the Yüan or Ming period but of more recent date. But it would take us too far to enter here into a discussion of the distinctions or qualities of the various kinds of Mi Fei imitations. We may rather turn to some of Mi Fei's own remarks about imitations with false pretensions, made to deceive uncritical collectors. He had evidently occasion to see many such paintings (possibly including imitations of his own works), and he had seen how wealthy amateurs spent their money on great names rather than on original works of art. It so appears from the following remarks in *Hua Shih*:

"It happens quite often when pictures are shown to present-day people that they are given names of old masters which fit them more or less, as they resemble to some extent the correctly named works. Yet amateurs and students form two different classes of people. The latter includes those who are earnest in their love of painting, who have studied extensively and recorded their observations. They have taken it into their hearts, or they have learned how to paint themselves. What they collect is consequently of a high order. But people of today who possess wealth without real love of painting and whose ambition it is to pose as connoisseurs in the eyes or the ears of other people, may be called amateurs. They place their pictures in brocade bags and provide them with jade rollers as if they were very wonderful treasures, but when they open them, one cannot but break out into laughter. I cannot

¹ Mi Fei was represented in the London Exhibition (cat. 918) by the album leaf *Mountains Rising through the Mist* from the Nakamura Collection in Tokyo, which is provided with signature and date (1102), but looks more like a badly worn picture of the Yüan or later time.

Of the two pictures ascribed to Mi Fei in the A. S. Moore Collection at the Yale Art School the handscroll is certainly more beautiful, but probably not older than the wall-scroll. A better version of a similar composition belonged formerly to Mrs. Sievers in New York. Other imitations of some fame are in the Abe Collection (Osaka Museum) and in the Ogawa Collection in Kyōto.

refrain from taking hold of the table and shouting loudly: 'What a shame to (take the trouble of) kill(ing) people!' (i.e. to kill their good reputation by false attributions)."

This exclamation afterwards became a common saying among connoisseurs when they were shown pictures that were not genuine.

Mi Fei's own manner of painting has been repeatedly characterized by writers who knew it through their own observation or through hearsay. We are told that he always painted on paper which had not been prepared with gum or alum; never on silk or on the wall. "If one sees pictures done on silk attributed to Mi Fei, we may be sure that they are not by him. Neither he nor his son used anything of the kind."¹ In this respect Mi Fei had evidently the same preference as his great contemporary Li Kung-lin, who also is said to have painted only on paper, in spite of the fact that they worked in entirely different manners: Li Kung-lin excelled in the neat and linear *pai miao* manner, whereas Mi Fei spread his ink in broad washes with a soft brush – or some similar tool. It is said in *Tung-t'ien ching-lu* that he did not necessarily use the brush in painting with ink; "sometimes he used paper-sticks or sugar-cane from which the juice had been extracted, or a calyx of the lotus". Such tools may indeed have given him the opportunity of playing with the ink still more freely than was possible with the brush, and they did not prevent him from obtaining those effects of tonal beauty and vibrating atmosphere which are the essentials of his landscapes.

A beautiful characterization of Mi Fei's manner as a painter is offered by T'eng Ch'un in *Hua Chi*:

"His writings are quite numerous, but his pictures are rare. I have only seen two specimens, which belonged to Li Chi (*tzü*, Yüan-tsun). One of them was on paper and represented the branches of a winding pine-tree. It was executed in light ink, and all the innumerable needles of the tree were massed together as in a lump of iron. I have never seen any old or modern picture quite like it. The writing on the picture said: 'When we travelled together with

Li Ta-kuan, the learned scholar, on the moon-lit lake, we composed some lines of poetry, but Fei (I) made a poem without sound . . . It was in the night, as we rowed together on the Western Lake' . . . The other picture represented plum, pine, epidendrum, and chrysanthemum, all united on a sheet of paper. The stalks and leaves of the plants were intertwined but not confused. There appeared to be many brush-strokes, but seen close they were few; yet it was not a coarse or careless work. It was altogether of a superior and extraordinary quality; the most wonderful thing of the whole period."

Although Mi Fei was principally a landscape-painter, we noticed above that he also did portraits and figure-paintings of an old-fashioned type; among them some remarkable self-portraits are particularly mentioned. One of these bore an inscription by his son which said: "My father used to draw the portraits of great officials and virtuous scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties and hang these on the walls of his studio. They were copied by men who loved the ancient times, and thus transmitted to our days."

Mi Fei must have spent more time studying specimens of ancient calligraphy and painting than producing pictures of his own. His *Hua Shih* (History of Painting) is filled with notes about pictures by old and modern masters, which he had seen in private collections all over the country, but it contains also practical hints as to the proper way of collecting, preserving, cleaning and mounting pictures which still have their value and are commonly accepted by Chinese collectors. They are all more or less characteristic expressions of Mi Fei's somewhat perplexing personality, his meticulous care in handling his specimens of old painting and calligraphy and scathing remarks about the ways and methods of ordinary collectors. But as the various kinds of notes are scattered and mixed quite freely without any attempt at classification, it is very difficult to give a systematic account of Mi Fei's

¹ *Tung-t'ien ch'ing-lu*, quoted in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 9.

ideas on these various subjects.¹ We must here limit ourselves to a few relevant examples of his observations on painters and painting chosen because of their historical or aesthetic interest and also as contributions to the characterization of the writer.

"If one has got hold of an old picture which is still intact, one must not remount it, because if the mounting with its backing is changed and the work is not done in the proper way, the picture will simply be damaged by it, which is deplorable. The life-breath of the human beings, like the lustre of their hair, the charm and luxuriance of flowers and the fluttering of bees and butterflies, results from slight variations in the dark and light tones, and these may be spoiled if the picture is remounted more than once.

"When people of the world see a picture of a horse, they call it Ts'ao Pa, Han Kan or Wei Yen; and when they see a picture of an ox, they call it Han Huang or Tai Sung. This is very ridiculous. There were many famous painters during the T'ang period, and it is not easy to identify such pictures. . . . But it occurs constantly that people give names to anonymous paintings. Therefore, as the proverb says: 'An ox, that is Tai Sung; a horse, that is Han Kan; a cock, that is Tu Hsiin; a portrait, that is Chang Tê'."

Mi Fei was no doubt an excellent connoisseur, who recognized quality in art wherever it was to be found, but in spite of his rather oppositional spirit and claim to be free from the common ruts of taste and style, his fundamental attitude was fairly conventional; he appreciated in particular some of the well recognized classics among the ancient masters and had little use for any of the contemporary painters. It seems almost as if personal bias or rivalry sometimes blinded his eyes, though he never stoops to self adulation. He had some difficulty in admitting the merits of others and found more pleasure in making pointed and sarcastic remarks than in expressing his thoughts in a just and balanced way. This is particularly evident in the remarks that he has left about the painters of his own generation.

"The most easily distinguished paintings are Ku K'ai-chih's, Lu T'an-wei's, Wu Tao-tzu's and Chou Fang's figure-paintings, T'eng Ch'ang-yu's,² Pien Luan's, Hsü Hsi's, T'ang Hsi-ya's,³ and Chu Ch'iu's⁴ flower-, bamboo- and bird-paintings, Ching Hao's, Li Ch'eng's, Kuan T'ung's, Tung Yüan's, Fan K'uan's, Chü-jan's and Liu Tao-shih's⁵ landscapes; whereas Tai Sung's oxen, Ts'ao Pa's, Han Kan's and Wei Yen's horses are difficult to distinguish on account of their great mutual similarity. As to works by modern painters, they are hardly worth discussing seriously. Chao Ch'ang, Wang Yu (Chao's pupil) Hsün Hung⁶ and their like, can be used to hang on the wall, but a few of them are quite enough. Ch'eng T'an,⁷ Ts'ui Po, Hou Fêng,⁸ Ma Fên, Chang Tzū-fang and their like are good only for defiling the walls of tea-houses and wine shops. They may be hung together with Chou Yüeh's and Chung-i's 'grass' writings. They do not belong to the class of men whom I discuss; even nameless and unclassified old specimens of brush-work may be esteemed as better friends."

In his classification of various kinds of paintings Mi Fei makes it clear that landscape-painting was to him superior to every other kind and the only one that really merited to be classified as a form of creative art. The statement, as it is expressed in the following entry in *Hua Shih* should be remembered as a kind of self-confession revealing the narrow

¹ There are many reprints of *Hua-shih*. The earliest known to me is the Ming edition in *Chin-tai pi-shu* and in *Wang-shih hua-yüan*. A systematized edition of these notes would be desirable.

² T'eng Ch'ang-yu from Wu, later active in Shu. Five Dynasties. Painted flowers and birds, particularly plum-blossoms.

³ T'ang Hsi-ya, of the South T'ang state. Rival of Hsü Hsi; painted bamboo, flowers and insects.

⁴ Chu Ch'iu, a painter of the late T'ang period.

⁵ Liu Tao-shih, North Sung per. A Taoist who is said to have forgotten his name. Fellow student of Chü-jan.

⁶ Hsün Hung, North Sung per. Pupil of Wang Yu. Active in Ch'eng-tu. Flowers and fruits.

⁷ Ch'eng T'an, North Sung per. Painter of pines and bamboo; inferior as figure painter.

⁸ Hou Fêng, North Sung. Academy painter of landscapes; followed in the wake of Kuo Hsi.

The rest of the above-named painters are discussed in our text.

limitations as well as the romantic flight of the writer's genius. The prejudice that it shows against flower and bird-painting as well as against illustrative figure-paintings may well have been cultivated by him in opposition to the general direction and aesthetic tendencies accepted at the emperor Hui-tsung's Academy which now was rising into its leading position in the field of painting.

"The study of Buddhist paintings implies some moral advice; they are of a superior kind. Then follow landscapes, which possess inexhaustible delights, particularly when they have haze, clouds and mist effects; they are beautiful. Then follow pictures of bamboo, trees, walls and stones, and then come pictures of flowers and grass. As to pictures of men and women, birds and animals, they are for the amusement of the gentry and do not belong to the class of pure art-treasures."

Mi Fei advocates no fixed rules or classification (such as Hsieh Ho's Principles) for the appreciation of painting. He bases his opinions on what he has seen and enjoyed as a painter and a collector, and ridicules those who in their quality of painters or amateurs fall back on traditional rules, great names and official fame. He may have known more about the growing officialdom in matters of painting and about the masterpieces incorporated in the imperial collection than he transmits in his notes, but what he says is enough to make us realize that the artistic culture of the court circles was to no small extent an empty façade and that there existed an opposition to this at least as long as Mi Fei's courageous and stimulating voice was heard.

* * *

II

Mi Fei's artistic activity was continued by his son Mi Yu-jên, who as a painter followed so closely in the footsteps of his father that their respective works have often been confused. A few words about the younger Mi should therefore be added at this place. He was born in 1086 and died 1165; his main activity

fell thus in the South Sung period, but this change of outward conditions does not seem to have lessened his adherence to his father's style. He is generally referred to as Yüan-hui (he used also the name Yin-jên), and more intimate friends called him Hu-êrh, the Tiger-cub, an appellation that he received as a boy. The *tsü* Yüan-hui (Original Splendour) had been attached to him by the family friend Shan-ku, i.e. Huang T'ing-chien, who presented the brilliant youth with an old seal engraved with the two characters. "I could not make up my mind to give this seal to my children", he wrote, "but you are like a young tiger; the strength of your brush is enough to carry a tripod. Take it and make Yüan-hui your *tsü*. Always follow in the footsteps of your father" – friendly advice which the young Mi took to heart and applied during the rest of his life.

Têng Ch'un, who transmits this information in *Hua chi*, tells furthermore that when the elder Mi was called to an audience in the Palace he presented to the emperor a picture by his son representing the Ch'u Mountain in Morning Light and received in return two paintings and two calligraphies by the imperial master. The younger Mi seems to have enjoyed imperial favours all through his life. He had a successful official career, starting as assistant governor of Ta-ming (in Hopei) and ending as vice-president of the Board of War. "Before he reached these official positions scholars and colleagues often obtained his paintings, but after he was raised in rank he became very secretive with his pictures, so that friends and relatives could not obtain his works. Therefore people said about him: 'He makes trees without roots and draws massed clouds, but they are only for the emperor and not for ordinary mortals'."

The pictures which are ascribed to Mi Yu-jên in various Eastern and Western collections are in general much like the pictures which traditionally pass under Mi Fei's name, yet distinguishable from them through individual accents or touches in the execution. The motifs, which return with some variations in all these pictures, are misty river valleys

bordered by tier and tier of mountain ridges which lift their sharply silhouetted peaks through layers of vaporous clouds and melt away into the haze of the background. Their effect depends mainly on the effect of a limitless though hidden expanse; they evoke a state of dream or emotional *samadhi* rather than a clear mental vision and are as such expressions of a highly romantic temperament.

They are all painted in a more or less advanced *p'o mo* technique with a soft brush and alternate use of light washes and heavy dabs, or blotches of deep black ink, gleaming luminously through the pale tones of the transparent mist. Neither the trees, nor the stones or hills are defined with contours, only the buildings are sometimes outlined, yet the compositions are impressive not only through their grand sweep but also through their massy, as one might call it, structural balance.

In discussing the pictures attributed to Mi Fei, we came to the conclusion that none of them could be ascertained as an authentic work by the master. The situation is not quite the same in regard to the pictures ascribed to the younger Mi. The list includes two or three specimens with the younger Mi's seals and signature, which may have been executed in the Sung period and are distinguished by a rather homogeneous stylistic character. Foremost among these may be mentioned the handscroll exhibited in the Hui-hua kuan in Peking, representing a long mountain range with numerous pointed tops rising through circling mist and clouds. It is a long handscroll on paper, painted in a very vaporous manner and now still more transparent than ever because of its worn condition (and some repairs). But as far as I could see, the picture included bits of fine quality in the characteristic Mi style.

A section of a somewhat similar scroll was shown to me a few years ago by Mr. C. C. Wang in New York; it had the same kind of vaporous tone as the picture in Peking but the paper was brownish. The importance of this picture as a work by Mi Yu-jên was emphasized by several colophons of the Sung and Yüan period, written by Wang Shên-yu and

Kuo Pi, as well as by later ones in favour of the attribution.

A third example of a similar kind of vaporous pictorial transposition, is a hanging scroll in private possession in China, which, however, is known to me only through a rather blurred reproduction in *Shên-chou ta-kuan*, vol.IX. The poetic inscription by Mi Yu-jên seems to be right, but a safe conclusion as to its time of execution is not possible from this reproduction (Pl.190).

The long handscroll in the Freer Gallery (formerly in the Wu Yüan-kuan and the P'ang Lai-chên collections) known as Mountains in Ch'u on a Clear Autumn Day, may indeed be characterized as the most beautiful of all these Mi Yu-jên paintings. It has also the master's signature and a number of prominent collectors' seals of the Sung, Yüan and Ming periods. It is painted in an exceedingly fluent manner; the ink washes are so thin at some places that it seems as if the brush had hardly touched the paper; at other places, such as the clumps of trees along the lower edge of the picture, and the overgrown hill-tops at the upper edge, the tones are luminously black. Nothing could be more effective than these contrasting tones and the misty atmosphere which at the two ends of the scroll melts into the tone of the paper. It is painted with consummate technical skill, but to what extent this actually reveals the mind or vision of a creative master is a question that may be answered differently by each beholder, depending on his disposition and experience. Whatever the answer to these questions may be it must be admitted that the picture is a brilliant virtuoso performance in the Mi manner.

The well-known scroll in the Cleveland Museum (Pl.189; formerly Yamamoto collection) is another interesting example of the Mi style, though not very like the pictures mentioned above. Yet it is signed Mi Yu-jên and inscribed with a poem dated 1130. It represents trailing mist between mountain ridges along a river, but the mist is more woolly and the mountains more substantial or solid than in the

pictures described above. The limitless expanse of water and sky is beautifully suggested by the design of the receding mountain ridge leading into the background as well as the trailing clouds of white cotton. This picture is, as a matter of fact, more closely related to the so-called Mi Fei paintings than those mentioned before. Could it possibly be a variation on a work by the older Mi? The question must be passed on like so many other problems related to paintings which, since the Ming period or earlier, have been considered as representative of the Mi style. It may be remembered that even Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang, who admired the two Mi more than any other painters and studied their pictures with the eye of an experienced expert, seems to have had moments of hesitation in front of paintings ascribed to Mi Yüan-hui. An Lu-ts'un relates this in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan* (South Sung section, p.3) in describing a picture called Clouds and Mountains, to which Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang had composed the following highly significant colophon:

"The mountain-scrolls by Mi Yüan-hui have all been copied by President Kao (K'o-kung) in the Yüan period. Such is the case with the handscroll representing White Clouds over the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers in my collection. There are numerous colophons on it by famous gentlemen of the Sung and Yüan periods.... But I am still doubtful whether these annotations, even though they are genuine, are not something like an empty pearl-box from which the divine object has disappeared. It is not as good as the present scroll, which has a rich and overflowing vital essence and a most wonderful composition."

In his own description of the picture (Clouds and Mountains) An Lu-ts'un points out that it was painted in the manner of Tung Yüan, who according to the Ming critics was the unsurpassed model of the two Mi. This may not appear very evident to us, but the amateurs of the Ming and Ch'ing periods never tired of extolling the two Mi as the foremost followers of Tung Yüan and principal protagonists of the Southern School, which was the highest

praise that could be bestowed on landscape-painters of the Sung period.

Their historical importance has indeed been rated very high, higher than nowadays would be inferred from the paintings attributed to them. But Mi Yüan-hui evidently felt no hesitation as to his own artistic importance; his self-esteem runs as a strong undercurrent in most of what he has written. He was indeed a man of remarkable gifts and very successful (as emphasized also by T'eng Ch'un in *Hua chi*), but he spares no efforts in trying to impress people with his brilliant wit and talents. The following may serve as an example:

"The people of the world know that I am skilful in painting and vie with each other to get hold of my works. But there are very few who know how I do my painting. They have not the eye of superior perception and are incapable of understanding it. It is not done by glancing at old and modern painters. The merit of the old paintings is like a hair in the vast ocean. Things do not touch or excite me when I sit down quietly, cross-legged like a monk, forgetting all troubles and attuning myself to the vast blue emptiness."¹

Mi Yu-jên seems to have tried the same methods of attuning his consciousness and establishing contact with the soul or meaning of Nature's phenomena as described by Su Tung-p'o and Huang T'ing-chien. They were all imbued with the Taoist conception of Nature as an infinite source of creative force, and tried to reach these founts of inspiration through meditation. His speculations about painting as a symbolic expression of such inner contacts, or as a kind of "writing by the heart", is also significant in this connexion:

"Tzū-yün² thought that written characters are the marks (or tracings) of the heart. If he had not pushed the matter to the utmost limits of reason (i.e. if he had not been a great thinker), he could not

¹ *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 10, p. 14.

² Tzū-yün is the *tsü* of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18), the well-known philosopher and statesman who served under Wang Mang. Cf. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, 2379.

have arrived at this. According to this statement, painting must also be marks (tracings) of the heart, but since ancient times no one who was not a genius has been able to understand this. Indeed, how could it be understood by the simple workmen of the market-places? There are no longer in the world any landscapes from the most ancient times, nor of the Han or the Six Dynasties, only the works of Wang Mo-chi (Yu-ch'êng), who was the foremost among the painters of ancient and modern times.

"For a long time I have collected and stored up a great number of paintings, but now that I myself have grasped the wonderful points in painting, I can only laugh when I see how their ideas are expressed. Among them are also the pictures representing the famous views of Hsiao and Hsiang. Ever since olden times all great writers and talents have been envied by the world, slandered and made the butt of malice. This is not to be wondered at. A just opinion may be formed only after a hundred generations."¹

Mi Yüan-hui's self-esteem was apparently more exalted than his critical sense and in this respect he was the inferior of his father.² He considered himself superior not only to the crowd of contemporary painters but also to the old masters of classic renown. And this attitude bred a hunger for recognition that was never appeased. He was convinced that his true value as an artist would not be recognized until after "a hundred generations". It would, however, be misleading to claim that the successive generations of Chinese art-critics fulfilled his expectations. With all the admiration bestowed on some of his charming pictures, Mi Yüan-hui is still, from an historical viewpoint, the talented continuator of the characteristic style of landscape-painting introduced by his father.

* * *

The ideas according to which paintings and specimens of calligraphy may be called seal-impressions of the heart, expressed by Mi Yüan-hui in the above quotation, had also been formulated by

Kuo Jo-hsü in one of the introductory chapters to *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* called "Discussion of Ch'i Yün which Cannot be Taught". The source of inspiration for both writers may have been Yang Hsiung's essay called *Fa yen* (Model Sayings). Kuo Jo-hsü introduces the topic as a kind of corollary to *ch'i-yün*, the resonance of the life-breath, and places it thus in the very centre of the discussion of painting. It may therefore be of interest to quote the essential part of Kuo Jo-hsü's interpretation, which throws more light on the subject than Mi Yüan-hui's short remarks.

After a general reference to Hsieh Ho's Six Principles, which contain the essentials for right understanding of painting, Kuo Jo-hsü writes: "As to the Resonance of the life-breath, it must be inborn, it cannot be acquired by skill or dexterity, nor can one arrive at it through months and years of study. It is secretly blended with the soul; one does not know how, yet it is there.

"I have often tried to explain it and to observe it in the extraordinary works of ancient times mostly made by high officials, great sages, hermits and scholars. They exercised their art in accordance with virtue;³ they penetrated into the hidden mysteries and expressed their noble sentiments in painting. When men are of a high class, the *ch'i-yün* must also be high, and when *ch'i-yün* is high, *shêng-tung*, i.e. animating movement, follows quite inevitably. Then it may be said that the painter is able to render the

¹ *Shu-hua fu*, vol. 10, pp. 16, 17.

² The following remarks by T'ang Hou in his *Lun hua* are pertinent contributions to the characterization of Mi Yu-jên as an expert and at the same time reveal the danger of basing an opinion about the authenticity of a picture on the *t'i-pai* attached to it. He wrote:

"Whenever the Sung emperor Kao-tung in his search for works of art secured some specimens of calligraphy or painting, he used to ask Mi Yu-jên to examine them critically and to write *t'i-pai* on them. But it happened quite often, as he wanted to please the emperor (that imitations were passed as genuine); I have seen a number of scrolls which were not good, though the *t'i-pai* on them were absolutely genuine. The critics should bear this in mind."

³ A free transcription of Confucius' words in *Lun yü*, VII-6, "Let perfect virtue be accorded with. Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts."

very essence with the spirit of the spirit.¹ Only pictures which are permeated with *ch'i-yün* are considered as precious things by the whole world, but if this quality is lacking neither skill nor thought can make of it anything but artisan's work. Although it is called a picture, it is not really painting. Master Yang did not receive it (the *ch'i-yün*) from his teacher and Lu-pien did not transmit it to his son.² You obtain it only through the influence of Heaven, and it flows out from the recesses of your soul.

"It is as in the art of divination which is done by examining written characters. These (tracings) are called seal-impressions of the heart, because they originate in the heart, (mind) and are shaped by it. They are united with the heart, and so they are called seal-impressions (of the heart). Thus innumerable affections, anxieties and experiences, which influence the heart and blend with it, produce seal-impressions. Should not the same be true of calligraphy and painting, which are done by transferring thoughts and sentiments to silk? Can they be anything but seal-impressions? The written characters preserve the nobility and the meanness, the successes and adversities (of the writer). How could painting and calligraphy but express the high or the low *ch'i-yün* (of the writer)? Painting is (in this respect) the same as calligraphy. As said by master Yang (i.e. Yang Hsiung): "Speech is the sound of the heart (or mind), calligraphy is the painting of the heart; both reveal whether the man is of a superior or of a low kind."

Kuo Jo-hsü's exposition of *ch'i-yün* and the contiguous ideas may not contain anything fundamentally new, but it is of a more definite nature than earlier discussions of the same topic (such as Chang Yen-yüan's remarks on the subject) and may be taken as a characteristic expression of the aesthetic attitude prevailing in the North Sung period. This mysterious quality is, according to him, a vitalizing force issuing from the innermost source or heart of the painter; it is not to be acquired by study or work, but is inborn in the artist as a gift of Heaven and grows in silence like a sensitive flower which cannot be forced or constrained by outward means. All the emotions and experiences through which the painter may pass leave impressions on his heart (mind), contributing to the moulding of his character, and may thus be called seals of the heart. When he expresses himself in writing, the written characters will inevitably reflect his mental and emotional disposition. Consequently only noble souls and high characters can produce great works of art. The conclusion is inevitable; it has repeatedly been stated by Chinese critics of later times, but the estimate of a man's character must obviously vary with the observer's point of view and standards of appreciation.

¹Reference to Chuang-tzu (Cf. Giles, p.139): "To the highest height of spirituality he can soar" etc. "This is because he is in relation to all things." Cf. Soper, *Kuo Jo-hsü*, note 183, p.128. All the necessary historical references and explanations are made easily accessible by Soper in his new translation of *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* (1951).

²Reference to Chuang-tzu (Cf. Giles, p.171); the wheelmaker said that "words could not explain what it is, but there is some mysterious art behind. I cannot teach it to my son".

Li Lung-mien and his Following

THE ONLY figure-painter of the Northern Sung period comparable in artistic importance to the landscape-painters of Kuo Hsi's and Mi Fei's class was Li Kung-lin, better known by his *tzü*, Po-shih, and his *hao*, Lung-mien, a name which he received from Lung-mien Shan (The Sleeping Dragon Mountain), the place where he passed the later years of his life. He was born about 1040 at Shu-ch'eng in Anhui and died 1106, probably at Lung-mien Shan, one year before Mi Fei. The main currents and events of his life are retraced in the biography quoted below. It appears from other sources that he passed through several stages of an official career without ever doing much service in any department, and became gradually known not only as a painter of the highest standard, but also as one of the most cultured and noble characters of the age.

He belonged to the same constellation of great poets, artists, and philosophers as Su Tung-p'o, Huang T'ing-chien, Mi Fei, and a few more of this golden era, but was evidently less inclined to excesses and sarcasms than some of the others. When these people met, they often amused themselves by making pictures and poems in collaboration; Li adding figures to the landscapes of Su, and Su writing poems on Li's pictures. Their philosophical and religious tenets were of the broadest kind, including Buddhist and Taoist as well as Confucian elements, more or less like the eclectic philosophy of Chu Hsi which was formulated during the next generation. It was less a question of doctrines than of individual interpretations in symbols of art and poetry. They were great minds who looked for the soul of things and

the spiritual significance beyond words and doctrines.

Of the 107 pictures which are listed under Li Lung-mien's name in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, the greater number represent Buddhist motives, many of them in quite unconventional form, but there are also Taoist and Confucian (classical) pictures, historical portraits and genre-scenes, a dozen horse-paintings, birds, butterflies, flowers, and landscapes with figures. Li Lung-mien was not so far specialized as most of the contemporary painters; his artistic activity and his cultural interests spread over many fields, though his influence was greatest in the domain of religious art. The following chronicle of his life, which is included in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, offers the most complete historical background:

"His father Hsü-i received the (honorary) title of a Wise, Good and Upright man, and served as a counsellor in the High Court (Ta-li ssü). He was fond of collecting model calligraphies and famous paintings. Kung-lin had thus from an early age an opportunity of studying the old masters' brushwork in the *hsing shu* (running hand) and *k'ai shu* (model style) writing of the Chin and the Sung periods (265-479). Yet he was still more skilful in painting and drawing, and his works became highly valued everywhere.

"He was a man of great learning with a penetrating intellect and power of thought. His faculty of quick observation enabled him to realize the essentials in everything. When he first started to paint, he studied Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wei, Chang Sêng-yu and Wu Tao-yüan, besides the works of other famous masters of the past. Through this

practice as a painter (seated cross-legged) he stored up in his bosom great wealth, combining all the good points of his predecessors. But then he formed a style of his own and no longer appeared dependent on his predecessors, though he had actually absorbed their essential points. Whenever he came across some remarkable pictures, whether ancient or modern, he could not resist making copies of them, and as he preserved them all, his house became filled with famous paintings.

"He was particularly skilful in painting figures, and as he knew how to characterize their form and countenance, anyone who looked at them could understand their status in life, whether they were people from palace precincts, temples, offices, pavilions, or from the mountains, the forests or the wilderness, or poor villagers, or high officials riding in carriages with runners. Their manners and gestures, their postures (stretching and crouching), their looking up and looking down, their size and appearance, their beautiful or ugly features are all distinctly marked.

"Kung-lin generally started by establishing the idea of the picture and followed up by making the composition and the decorative arrangement. Common artists may be able to imitate his beautifully coloured and highly finished paintings, but they cannot reach his more simplified free and sketchy manner. He learned a great deal from Tu Fu's art of writing poetry and applied this to painting. For instance, when Tu Fu wrote his poem 'Tying up the Hens', he did not dwell on the gain or loss of the hens or on the insects, but fixed his attention on the moment when he (Tu Fu) was standing in the mountain pavilion, contemplating the cold river.

"In Kung-lin's illustration of Tao Ch'ien's *Kuei ch'ü lai* (Returning Home) he did not insist on the fields, the gardens, the pine-trees and the chrysanthemums, but rather on the enjoyment of the clear flowing water. When Tu Fu wrote about the destruction of his grass-hut by an autumn storm, he did not lament over the torn bed-cover or the leaking hut, but expressed his wish to stretch a big

shelter over all the poor scholars of the world so as to make their faces grow happy. Likewise Kung-lin, in making a picture of the Yang-kuan Pass, thought that partings and outbursts of sorrow were too commonplace emotions; instead of such scenes he represented an angler quietly seated at the side of a stream and showing no concern over the sorrow and the joy (around him). All his other works were done in a similar fashion; only those who have actually looked at the pictures can understand it all.

"He was thus in regard to creative ideas like Wu Tao-yüan, but in his genius he was like Wang Wei. The figures in his pictures of the Hua Yen council (i.e. illustrations to the *Hua yen sūtra*) may be compared to (Wu's) Scenes from Hell, whereas his painting of the Lung-mien hill farm is comparable to (Wang Wei's) Wang Ch'uan scroll. He appropriated all the good points of his predecessors, united them in his works, and rose high above the common level. His paintings have found their way all over the world, so that everybody can find an opportunity to examine them.

"In his early days Kung-lin was fond of painting horses mainly in the manner of Han Kan, which he, however, modified, but one day a Taoist advised him not to do so, because (as this man said) there is a danger that you may fall into the ways of a horse. Kung-lin grasped the meaning and changed to the painting of Taoist and Buddhist subjects, which he did with still greater skill.

"Once he painted some horses of the imperial stable which had been given in tribute by the Khotanese of the Western Land, for instance the Good headed horse and the Red Brocade shouldered horse, beside others. He did a number of them, but the stable officials asked him for the pictures, because they feared that the spirits of the horses would go with the images. He became thus, to begin with, famous as a painter of horses.

"When he was serving as an official he lived in the capital for ten years, but he never entered the house of a man of great influence or of high rank. Whenever he could leave his duties and the weather was

good, he would provide himself with some wine and go out of the city accompanied by some friends. They would visit famous gardens or shady forests and sit down on stones at the side of the water, feeling happy and joyous while time was passing quickly. During this period it also happened quite often that men of wealth and high position who wanted to obtain some of his works, showed him courtesies or brought him presents, but Kung-lin was stubborn and did not return their advances. Yet he would befriend and accompany men of fame and scholars of worth, even though they were complete strangers, and for their sake he was always willing to paint without reluctance. He also made pictures of ancient objects, such as the *kuei* and the *pi*, and studied their names and meaning thoroughly so that (his pictures) should show no mistakes.

"He served as an official for thirty years, but never, even for a day, did he forget the mountains and forests. Therefore his mind became filled with pictures. Later in life he became afflicted with rheumatism, but between the groans he would still lift his hand and draw on the bed-cover with his finger as if he were applying a brush. His family warned him not to do it, but he smiled and answered: 'It is an old habit of mine. I cannot help it; it comes to me unconsciously.' Such was his love of painting.

"When his illness was abating the people who asked for pictures came again; Kung-lin sighed and said to them: 'When I paint, I do it as the poet composes his poems; I chant my heart's desire and nothing more. Why cannot the people who seek my pictures for their entertainment understand this?' Afterwards, whenever he made a picture to give away, he would always embody in it advice or a warning, following the idea of the fortune-teller Chiin-p'ing, who told the people their good or bad fortunes in order to make them act properly.

"After his death it became even more difficult to obtain pictures of his; they were often paid for very high (in silk and gold). Consequently there appeared forgers who made imitations of his pictures in order to reap profit from such frauds. Those who

had little knowledge of pictures were sometimes taken in, but those with a deeper knowledge could not avoid discovering them.

"In his official career he rose to the rank of Ch'ao-fêng-lang; then he retired and died at home. Scholars and officials today still do not call him by his name, but by the *tzü* he chose for himself: Lung-mien chü-shih (The Retired Scholar of Lung-mien).

"Wang An-shih was careful in choosing his friends, yet he went to visit Kung-lin at Chung Shan, and when he left he wrote four lines of poetry as a farewell which were much admired.¹

"After examining the whole life and activity of Kung-lin we find that his literary style had the characteristics of the Chien An period, and that his manner of writing was like that of the calligraphists of the Chin and Sung periods (265-479), whereas he followed K'ü K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei in painting. As a connoisseur of bells, tripods and other antiquities his knowledge was deep and extensive, in fact, there was nobody who could equal him. It happened at the time that Tuan-i obtained a jade-seal which he presented to the emperor, but nobody could explain it until Kung-lin came and offered the explanation, which caused great admiration among the scholars. But as he was lost in the crowd of minor officials, he could not come to the front (as a connoisseur). Consequently his name became famous only in painting; and now we have recorded his life in detail quite clearly."

The above biography, which was composed only about fifteen years after the death of Li Lung-mien, is supplemented by other accounts of his life, for instance by Têng Ch'un in *Hua-chi* and in the *Sung History* which contains more information about his official career and his appointments to certain secretarial or literary occupations at court, none of which had any noticeable influence on his artistic activity. The biographers agree, however, in characterizing Li Lung-mien as a great student or Buddhism, in spite of the fact that he belonged to a

¹ Among Li Kung-lin's pictures in the Hsüan-ho collection was also one representing Wang An-shih strolling in the woods.

family of Confucian officials; T'eng Ch'un writes in particular that he was "deeply devoted to Ch'an practices" and an intimate friend of learned monks. His intellectual attitude in matters of religion and philosophy was no doubt very much like that of Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien discussed before. But he was pre-eminently a painter, and "never for a day did he forget the mountains and forests".

Another aspect of Li Lung-mien's intellectual life was his activity as a student and collector of various kinds of ancient art, such as objects in bronze and jade as well as paintings more or less like Mi Fei. His collection of paintings may not have contained so many important specimens by the old masters as the family collection of Mi Fei, but the particular styles and manners of most of the leading masters were represented by excellent copies, if not by originals. Li Lung-mien never failed to make a faithful copy of an interesting picture whenever an opportunity offered, which indeed must have had a decisive influence on the formation of his own style. It became highly cultured, not to say eclectic, and in this respect quite unlike the more spontaneous manners of Su Shih and Mi Fei. Yet according to Li Lung-mien's own words, he painted "as the poet chants his poems, expressing his (my) heart's desire and love of nature".

Most of the pictures which have been honoured with Li Lung-mien's name are of small size, either hand-scrolls or album-leaves, and executed in the so-called *pai miao* technique (i.e. neat outline-drawing without colour), the manner which Lung-mien is said to have used almost exclusively. But in addition to such drawings of moderate size there are also, as we shall find, some larger Buddhist paintings executed in colour which traditionally are associated with Li Lung-mien. This abstention from colour is by most of the old critics construed as a particular merit of Li Lung-mien. Characteristic in this respect is the following quotation from *Hou-ts'un chi*:¹

"The famous painters of former times such as Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wei and Wu Tao-tzu could not do without displaying colours; therefore it is

common to call their pictures 'red and blue'. But Li Lung-mien was the first to brush away the red of the cheeks (the face powder) and the black of the eyebrows and to express his ideas most beautifully with a light brush and light ink. In this he was like a hermit sage who wears hemp clothes and straw sandals, but nevertheless is great in his simplicity. He does not need to rely on brocade robes and elegant caps in order to be important."

Few artists' names have been more freely used for pictures of highly varying quality than Li Lung-mien's. It may be noted, for instance, that the catalogue of the former National Museum in Peking enumerates five handscrolls and one hanging picture by the master, of which not more than one seems to be of the Sung period, and that only one or two of the two hundred odd pictures which were listed in Charles L. Freer's personal catalogue under the name of the master are nowadays accepted as possibly by the master.²

The best documented among the pictures attributed to Li Lung-mien was until recently the so-called *Wu-ma t'u*, a scroll representing five beautiful horses with their grooms, sent in tribute to the Chinese emperor from Khotan and other Western countries.³ According to inscriptions on the picture, the horses were painted 1086-1087, i.e. at a time when Li was nearly fifty years old, which proves that it was not only in early years that Li indulged in horse-painting (Pls. 191, 192).

The motifs are practically the same as in some of

¹ Cf. *Shu-hua fan*, vol. 8.

² A more liberal opinion about still existing paintings by Li Lung-mien in the Freer Gallery is expressed by Agnes E. Meyer in her book: *Chinese Paintings as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-mien*, New York, 1932, pp. 219-223. She considers the following pictures as the most authentic works by the master: *The White Lotus Club* (also known as *Landscape with Fairies*); *The Shu River scroll*; *The Album of Lohans*; *The Cassia Hall and Epidaurum Palace* (a scroll of garden pavilions and terraces), all belonging to the Freer Gallery, and furthermore a picture representing *Lao-tzu Delivering the Tao Tê-ching* in her own collection.

³ The picture used to form part of the Imperial Manchu Household collection and has been reproduced in series of large photographs in China as well as in Japan. It was later in the collection of Mr. Kikuchi in Tokyo and is said to have perished in a fire caused by one of the air raids during the last war (1945).

Han Kan's famous pictures but treated in a different spirit, with less insistence on the decorative effect of the animals and their attire than on the qualities of plastic form and character. The five horses are all unsaddled, standing quietly or walking leisurely, led by native grooms. The aim of the artist was apparently to give a series of horse portraits. Each horse is marked with its name, such as The Brocade-shouldered Horse, The Phoenix-headed Horse, The Good Red-headed Horse, The Shining White of the Night, and strikingly characterized by the shape and expression of its head as well as by its general bearing and structure. In some cases there is a curious resemblance between the man and the animal; it would seem as if they had lived long enough together to take on an air of similarity and friendship.

The observations of the artist are exact and rendered with great economy of means. He has used mainly outlines, but in some cases also washes of ink by which the tone or the colouring of the horse is suggested. But each stroke of the brush has a significance; every slight shading serves a purpose, and this is perhaps even more evident in the drawings of the men than in the horses. The large forms of the horses appear (at least in the photographs) somewhat empty in comparison with the more articulated shapes of the highly individualized grooms, but they may have lost something through the wear of ages (or retouching, at least in one case). Even if these pictures do not reveal Li Kung-lin's full power as a horse painter, they justify Su Tung-p'o's opinion expressed in the words: "In Lung-mien's mind are a thousand teams of horses; he paints not only their flesh but their very bones." T'eng Ch'un, who reports these words by the painter's friend, uses himself no less eulogistic terms in characterizing Li Lung-mien's horse paintings, referring finally to the anecdote according to which a Taoist (or Buddhist) monk warned the artist against his specializing in horse-painting, because a constant occupation with or absorption by this motif might finally in a future life lead to his transmigration into a horse!

The Buddhists may indeed have had reasons to

wish that a great painter like Li Lung-mien should not be exclusively engaged in the study of the inmates of the imperial stables, and tried to direct his interest towards motifs of spiritual import. But the emperor seems to have appreciated Li Lung-mien's skill as a horse-painter in particular, if we may judge by the inscription on the long scroll, now on exhibition in Hui-hua kuan in Peking, known as *Mu-fang t'u*. It represents a great number (nominally two thousand) horses and a hundred grooms who conduct the animals out to pasture, and it is painted with colours on silk. According to the inscription, it was done on imperial command by Li Lung-mien after an original by Wei Yen (a famous horse-painter of the T'ang period). The scroll is very long and as only a minor section of it was made visible in the exhibition, it impressed me more as a historical document than as a product of Li Lung-mien's individual style as a horse-painter (Pl. 193).

More vividly realistic, though dominated by a definite linear rhythm, is the handscroll in the former National Museum in Peking, which is known as *Chi-fang t'u* (Beating the Ground). It represents a series of popular types: loafers, beggars, children, musicians and dancers in small groups, which are scattered over the paper, almost as if they were jotted down casually, yet form a continuous composition from one end to the other (Pl. 194). There is no indication of a horizontal plane or of definite scenery, but we receive nevertheless an impression of depth and distance. The figures are moving in every possible direction; they turn round, they jump and whirl, beating the ground with their feet to the rhythmic sound of the drums and pipes, while the onlookers, old and young, are taking part in the enjoyment with gestures and shouts. Nothing could be more spontaneous, more fresh and vivid, and at the same time better coordinated into a succession of seemingly accidental, yet well-balanced groups, which appear against an indefinite background in an imaginary space suggested by the highly varied and complicated movements, but not actually depicted.

They are executed in the *pai miao* manner with a light and pointed brush, but the strokes in the grinning faces and fluttering garments are replete with life. They broaden and narrow in accordance with the movements, as if they were reflecting the impetus of the artist's creative thoughts. The paper has a soft greyish hue out of which the figures emerge with somewhat darker tones. There is (to my knowledge) no seal or signature on this scroll, but if the vital quality of the brush-work may be taken as criteria of Li Kung-lin's hand, it may be possible to accept it among his own works. It is accompanied by some colophons, one of them being dated 1265, and also stamped with some seals, the earliest one being of the Shao Shēng (1094-1097) period.

The *Chi-jiang t'u* is something of an exception in the *œuvre* of Li Lung-mien, the motif being intensely realistic and the treatment rather humorous. And it is the only example of the master's approach to the life of common people that has survived. Other pictures of his with realistic motifs which are mentioned in the literature have not survived, but one or two should be recorded because of the historical interest attached to them. Most famous among these was the picture known under the descriptive title *A Literary Gathering in the Western Garden* because it contained the portraits of a number of the most prominent contemporary scholars, poets and painters assembled in the famous garden of Wang Chin-ch'ing. The composition is known in its main lines through free copies of the Yüan and Ming periods and through the rather detailed description that Mi Fei wrote of this picture. This is in itself an interesting document, which throws some light on the ways and characters of the various scholars and amateurs, but too long to be quoted here *in extenso*; a few extracts must suffice:

"Li Po-shih made a landscape in colours representing water, rocks, clouds, grass, trees, flowers, and bamboo, which was really impressive and wonderfully done after the style of The Lesser General Li (Li Chao-tao). The figures were charmingly rendered and all with striking likeness; they had the air

of enjoying themselves amongst the trees as if they were quite free from the dust of the world. It was indeed a most unusual painting.

"The man with a black cap and a yellow Taoist robe, holding a brush in the act of writing, was master Tung-p'o; the one with a peach-coloured turban and a purple garment, who sat looking on, was Wang Chin-ch'ing; the man in dark blue clothes, who stood upright holding a square instrument, was Ts'ai T'ien-ch'i from Tan-yang; and the man who grasped the back of his chair and stood looking on, was Li Tuan-shu. Behind him stood a female servant whose hair was done up with jade trinkets and who had a rich and noble appearance; she was one of Wang Chin-ch'ing's sing-song girls. Under a large shady pine, on which some creeping plants with purplish flowers were entangled, stood a stone table with some antique objects and a lute with jade mounts. Close by was Su Tzū-yu, seated by a stone under a banana plant with a Taoist cap on his head, wearing a purple garment, supporting himself with his right hand on the stone and holding in his left a scroll in which he was reading. The man in a garment of coarse silk with a turban on his head, holding a palm-leaf fan in his hand and looking on very attentively, was Huang Lu-chih; and the man with a strangely shaped cap of coarse cloth on his head, holding before him a scroll on which he was illustrating (painting) T'ao Yüan-ming's *Kuei ch'ü lai* (*fu* poem), was Li Po-shih, etc."

This famous prose poem inspired Li Lung-mien to a series of illustrative pictures which seem to have been popular in later periods also and copied by various younger masters, but whether the existing pictures of *Kuei ch'ü lai* which are attributed to Li Lung-mien have any connexion with the master's illustrations is very uncertain.¹ I am thinking in particular of the handscroll with seven pictures and some portions of the poem in the Freer Gallery

¹The illustrations to *Kuei ch'ü lai* are mentioned in *Shu-hua fang*. Li Lung-mien's interest in Tao Yüan-ming's poetry is discussed in detail by Agnes E. Meyer in her Li Kung-lin book, p.139 ff.



Two sections of a later version of Li Lung-mien's picture of his Dwelling in the Mountains of the Sleeping Dragon. Berenson Collection, Settignano.

(19.119), which is ascribed on the label to Li Lung-mien, whereas the postscript by Wêng Fang-kang (about 1800) contains the information that the poem was written by Li P'êng, a prominent calligraphist of the Sung period. The actual painting and the accompanying writing are, however, more probably of the early Ming period and have not retained any features or elements of style that could be said to connect them with the Sung master. The pictures are entertaining as realistic illustrations of country life, but there is no touch of imaginative interpretation or poetry in them. The attribution to Li Lung-mien seems more like the invention of some later ingenious collector than as an historical tradition.¹

Li Lung-mien was pre-eminently a figure painter; his landscapes formed mostly settings for his figure-compositions and many of them were of a more imaginative than naturalistic kind. None of them is preserved in original (as far as I know), but some are known through copies and descriptions by early critics which, however, seldom give any idea about the actual compositions. Thus, for instance, Huang T'ing-chien mentions with much praise A Farewell Scene at the Yang-kuan Pass, but he does not tell us what the picture was like.

One of Li Lung-mien's most important landscape-paintings was no doubt the scroll known as *Lung-mien shan-chuang t'u*, or The Dwelling on the Mountain of the Sleeping Dragon. It was a pictorial record in a series of sixteen illustrations of the painter's mountain abode, where he spent the best part of his later years. Pictures of the kind seem to have been produced by several artists, who in this respect, followed the example of Wang Wei's famous *Wang-ch'uan t'u* (described in an earlier chapter). In the case of Li Lung-mien, the dependence of the T'ang model is quite evident; his picture was by its motif and intent a counterpart to Wang Wei's scroll.

It aroused the admiration of the best connoisseurs of the time and was commented upon by Su Tung-p'o as well as by critics of the Yüan and Ming periods who praised not only its pictorial beauty and

the poetic conception, but also the topographical verity and exactness of the various scenes. It represented some of the most famous spots in the surroundings of the painter's mountain abode, i.e. the peaks and the valleys, the winding paths, the splashing cascades and the mirroring lake, the flower gardens with their pavilions, the fruit orchards and bamboo groves besides the caves and terraces for solitary meditations or contemplation of the most beautiful sights of nature. Some of these places had special names such as the "Cave of Resting Clouds" and the "Rock of Flower Rain", where the painter and his friends used to gather to greet the arrival of spring.

The human element, which was completely absent in Wang Wei's scroll, plays an important part in Li Lung-mien's picture; the figures serve in some of these scenes not only to attract the attention, but also to enhance the impression of the views by suggesting a reflection in the heart of the beholders.

The poetic interpretation of the motifs may be best observed in the version of the *Li Lung-mien shan-chuang t'u*, which forms part of Mr. Berenson's collection in Settignano. The picture, which is executed with ink and slight colours on fine silk, consisted originally of sixteen views, divided by poetic inscriptions, forming together a long scroll, but only ten of the scenes have survived and partly in a rather worn condition. But the pictorial character of the landscapes as well as the character of the figures are fully recognizable.

The picture is evidently the work of a competent artist who has given a sensitive but relatively free interpretation of Li Lung-mien's original in accordance with the pictorial style and characteristics

¹ The same compositions, with the exception of the two first scenes, are also found in a handscroll which I have seen in private possession though rendered in a somewhat freer style. According to the colophons attached to this picture, written in 1481 by the well-known scholar Tung Hsüan and also by the minister (?) Chao Fu, who then was the owner of the picture, it was quite like another scroll, signed by Chao Mêng-fu, in the collections of Wan Tsü-ho in Yünnan. The indication seems acceptable, because the style and writing are characteristic of the Yüan period, and the picture may well be an early copy after Chao Mêng-fu.

of his own epoch. The exact date of this is not indicated on the picture, but judging by the brushwork and the fluent manner of the interpretation, I would be inclined to date it to the latter part of the Yüan period or shortly after. It is the pictorial atmosphere together with the neatness of detail that make this picture attractive and also interesting as an historical document.

The inscriptions between the successive views contain the poetic names of the various spots and seem to be of the same period as the paintings, whereas the descriptive colophon attached to the scroll is dated 1453 and signed by the noted minister and writer Wang Hsing-chien.

The other version of the same scroll, of which three sections are reproduced on our collotype plate No. 195, formed part of the collection of the former National Museum in Peking (Wên-hua tien) where I saw it in 1929. It is not divided into a series of separate views, but forms a continuous composition, nearly twelve feet long, which is executed in an excessively neat, not to say dry, *pai miao* manner on paper. The technique is of the kind that was favoured by Li Lung-mien, but it has been elaborated with insistence on all the minutest details of the rocks, the plants and the leaves and twigs of the trees and with no suggestion of a unifying pictorial atmosphere. The general effect of the scroll is thus more like that of a finely woven grey tapestry than of a picture executed with a supple brush. It is interesting as an historical document and may have been done at a relatively early period by a minor painter who was so fascinated by the topographical, botanical, and other details that he almost lost sight of its artistic purpose and meaning. It gives the impression of a rather close, though schematized imitation of Li Lung-mien's famous scroll and though it may be earlier in date than the version in Mr. Berenson's collection, it tells us less about the pictorial beauty of the original. It has colophons by Yüan-wu (of the Yüan period and by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang who, to our surprise, considered it as a work by Li Lung-mien.

Su Tung-po's colophon to Li Lung-mien's famous picture can hardly be said to give a better idea about the motif or the composition, but it is of considerable literary interest and may thus be quoted here *in extenso*:¹

"Someone said to me: The Hermit painted the Dwelling on the Mountain of the Sleeping Dragon in such a way that if a man would come to these mountains in later times he would know the paths wherever his feet might carry him. It would seem to him as if he had seen the place in his dreams, or as if he remembered it from a former life. He would recognize at once the springs, the rocks and the plants in these mountains and know their names without asking; and when he met the fishermen, the wood-gatherers and the hermits, he would know them instantly even though he might not recall their names.

"Is this all due to a strenuous effort of the memory? No. For instance: a man who is painting the sun may represent it like a round cake, but he has not forgotten the sun. Likewise a man who is drunk does not drink through his nose, nor will a man who is dreaming try to grasp things with his feet. This is due to natural instinct, common to all men and not to any effort of the memory.

"Thus when the Hermit of Lung-mien was living in the mountains he did not devote his attention to one thing only, but made his spirit commune with all things around him; and in this way he came to understand all the arts and trades.

"There are men who possess Tao and others who have skill in art. If one knows Tao, but has no skill, things may take shape in the heart, but they do not take shape under the hands. I have seen the scenes from the *Hua-yen Sūtra* painted by the Hermit (of Lung-mien) from imagination, but nevertheless in accordance with the words of Buddha. The Buddha and the Bodhisattvas did it by spoken words, the Hermit did it by painting, yet it was as if all had been done by one man. But how much better could not he do things that he had really seen?"

¹ *P'ei-wên ch'ai shu-hua p'u*, vol. 83, p. 11.

Still more fantastic elements of landscape make up the long handscroll (almost thirty feet) in the Freer Gallery which is known under the descriptive title "Deities and Fairies in an Imaginary Landscape" or also as the "White Lotus Club", a less appropriate name, which refers to a group of scholars and Buddhist priests who in the fourth century retired to the solitude of the Lu Mountain under the leadership of Hui-yüan, the founder of the Ching-t'u sect. They lived in closest communion with nature and became known as the Eighteen Wise Men of the Lu Mountain or the White Lotus Club. But the picture seems inspired by Taoistic fairy tales rather than by essentially Buddhist ideas (Pls. 196, 197). The views are partly taken from above the clouds and partly on the earth below, but neither of these regions calls to mind anything seen in our universe. The framework of nature is reduced to rocks and clouds, the only signs of sprouting life are some gnarled trees and leafless shrubs growing on the borders of the mountain streams and the crevices. If it were not for some lofty pavilions and terraces where the Immortals are assembling, the scenery might be interpreted as views of an antediluvian or submarine world so impressive are the huge rocks rising through the whirling trails of mist and clouds like gigantic garden-stones moulded by the waves of a ceaseless ocean tide. If this is the realm of the Immortals, according to Taoist tales, it must be admitted that it is not fit for mortal beings who have not tasted the pills of immortality. Yet the men who are here represented approaching the sacred temple precincts or gathering in silent worship on the terraces are all wearing the scholar's cap and gown. They are men of the human world filled with veneration for a kind of mystic presence suggested by the dream-like surroundings (including some extraordinary monuments), and by the venerable beings here descending to receive the chosen newcomers. The close intercommunication between the terrestrial and the heavenly world, the scholars and the fairies, is perhaps the most significant feature in this extraordinary picture, which remains a

problem from an intellectual as well as a stylistic viewpoint. The illustrative conception which, as said above, seems to be based on some Taoist legend, is evidently due to a master of extraordinary imaginative faculty, but the pictorial execution is stamped by a degree of meticulous refinement that could hardly be the natural mode of expression for a strong creative imagination. It seems as if a skilful follower had tried to outdo the master's individual style.¹

It is impossible to dwell here on all the illustrative scrolls and album leaves executed in a neat *pai miao* technique which pass under the name of Li Lung-mien and, at least in part, reproduce his famous compositions. Two or three examples must here suffice. The largest one is probably the scroll exhibited in T'ai-ho tien of the Peking palace (1954). It illustrates the visit of Mañjuśrī (Wên-shu) to Vimalakīrti, the well-known motif often represented, for instance in the Tung-huang wall-paintings. The scroll, which is inscribed with Li Lung-mien's signature, is a *tour de force* of fine brushmanship, but probably not executed before the Ming period.

Another scroll smaller in size but finer in quality, which forms part of the Ku-kung collection has been completely reproduced in facsimile and is

¹ Two other landscape scrolls now in the Freer Gallery, but formerly in the Tuan Fang collection, have also sometimes been published as paintings by Li Lung-mien: Cf. *Kekka*, Nos. 252 and 273. They represent panoramic views of the mountainous scenery along the upper reaches of the Yangtze river. One of them, sometimes called Rivers and Mountains in Shu, has been praised by prominent critics of the Ming and Ch'ing periods, such as Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang, Kao Shih-ch'ü and Ch'ien-lung, as a masterpiece by Li Lung-mien, while the other, at least in modern times, has been tentatively ascribed to Ch'ü-jan rather than to Lung-mien. A closer discussion of these two scrolls (measuring about sixty feet) may not be necessary at this place, because neither of them has any conceptional or stylistic connexion with the art of Li Lung-mien. They are composed and painted mainly with a topographic end in view, more or less as pictorial maps, on which a great number of towns and villages, or other sites of geographic and historical interest, are marked by inscriptions. Nothing could be more unlike Li Lung-mien's imaginative landscapes than these topographic recordings of the changing views along the mountainous shores of the Yangtze, and they are made in a manner which was not developed before the very end of the Sung period.

consequently better known. It illustrates the so-called Nine Songs by the poet Ch'ü Yüan (332-295 B.C.), said to be a kind of romantic hymn to the Nine Spirits or gods of the Ch'u country, where the poet passed his life of shifting fortunes and finally drowned himself in the Mi-lo river. The scroll consists of a series of nine different acts or portions staged in shifting scenes of a continuous landscape. The poet is travelling along the river and across the mountains of his beloved Ch'u country and encounters there the spirits descending from celestial spheres, and also earthly beings of a more human type and takes a ride on the dragon which carries him through space. The visionary elements are brought out with the same exactness and suggestive power as the mountains and rivers of Ch'u, and altogether they offer excellent opportunities to observe the artist's style both as a figure and a landscape-painter (PL.198).

The emperor Ch'ien-lung copied the poems on the picture and at the beginning of the eighteenth century the painter Chang Jo-ai added a portrait of Ch'ü Yüan in a landscape. Other poems by the famous poet have been added in seal script, and according to Chang Ch'ou's description of the picture in *Shu-hua fang* (vol.8) it had several encomiums of the Ming period, the connoisseurs of the time accepting it as an authentic work by the master (an opinion out of date in a double sense, but not as yet replaced by a more correct dating). But whenever it was painted, the fantastic transformation of the motif makes an interesting document for a closer study of Li Lung-mien's artistic genius.

The pictures with religious or admonitory motifs were painted mostly towards the end of the master's career, and we shall have occasion to revert to a few of them in a following chapter. The last and most ambitious of these was to consist of no less than eighty illustrations to the *Hua-yen sūtra*. The text had been copied on eighty scrolls (*chüan*) and Li Lung-mien began to make his illustrations, but he was no more than half-way through the work when he was attacked by severe rheumatism in the arm,

and had to stop. The biographer adds: "As he could not paint any more, he tried to buy back his own paintings for large sums of money and stored them to make people realize their value"; consequently after his death (in the Hsüan-ho period) "they became just as precious as the works of Wu Tao-tzū".

The pictures illustrating the Confucian Canon were not strictly speaking religious, but they had a moral import which was greatly appreciated. They represented noble examples of Filial Piety, Parental Love, Loyal Subjects and Benevolent Lords. Su Tung-p'o wrote a colophon to one of these series of illustrations in which he said:¹

"An unselfish and compassionate heart will irresistibly be born in him who sees these pictures. The wonderful quality of the brush-work is not inferior to that of Ku K'ai-chih or Lu T'an-wei. In Chapter 18, which describes the things which a son cannot endure, he has already used a metaphor; he could not have done it if he had not been a superior man possessing Tao. Even Ku K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei did not quite come up to this."

The pictures must have made a great impression on his contemporaries. There are several colophons referring to them, one by the Sung scholar Chang Chiu-ch'eng, who wrote: "These paintings by Li K'ung-lin rise above the dust of the world. In their refined and delicate beauty and their subtle and mysterious qualities they are almost equal to the works of Nature. They cannot be imitated by common artists, who - alas! - have never thoroughly understood the subtle meaning of the Canon of Filial Piety."²

We can only regret that these admirers of Li Lung-mien's illustrations to the Confucian scriptures did not leave some information about the actual appearance of these influential admonitions.

The most telling estimate of Li Lung-mien's standing as a Confucian scholar, or a *wén-jên*, is given by Teng Ch'un in *Hua-chi*, written no more than sixty years after the master's death. He is here

¹ *Shu-hua p'u*, vol.83, p.5.

² *Ibid.*, p.5.

placed on a level with the greatest lights of literary culture in the Sung period, because his artistic achievements were no less important than the cultural contributions of the literary men. After some introductory remarks about the exponents of art and culture in the T'ang period T'eng Ch'ün writes:

"In the present dynasty Wên Chung-kung¹ (i.e. Ou-yang Hsiu), the three Su² (Su Hsün, Su Shih and Su Ch'ê), the two Ch'ao brothers (Pu-chih and Shuo-chih), Shan-ku (Huang T'ing-chien), Hou-shan (Ch'ên Shih-tao), Wan-chiu, Huai-hai³ (Ch'ün Kuan), Yüeh-yen, and the universal genius Li Lung-mien, have all either discussed the noble and essential qualities in art or worked with the brush in an unsurpassed way. Accordingly one could hardly say that painting is the only art, and adversaries of it think that there have been men since olden times who have possessed literary culture (*wên*) but have had no skill in painting and no love of it. To them I would say: 'There may have been men of great literary culture who did not understand painting, but they have been very few, and the men without literary culture who understood painting have likewise been very rare'."

The general meaning of this statement (particularly in connexion with the preceding and following paragraphs) seems to be that the art of painting is something that cannot grow or develop isolated or detached from other forms of mental culture and scholarly attainments (usually termed *wên*). At the beginning of his discussion T'eng Ch'ün emphasizes that the art of painting is the very perfection or acme of *wên*, using this expression in its broadest sense of cultural attainments. In this way the great painters are also *wên-jên* and their importance will also depend on what point they have reached in other arts such as poetry, literature and philosophy (not to mention music and archery).

The men of the Sung period whom T'eng Ch'ün enumerates were all *wên-jên*, pre-eminently because of their activities as writers and poets, though some of them also became prominent as painters. Only in

the case of Li Lung-mien was the relative proportion between the literary and the pictorial production reversed, but this did not make him a less important or outstanding representative of the all-inclusive intellectual, aesthetic and moral culture implied in the word *wên*. His artistic creations, according to this view, formed a counterpart to the Confucian Classics as well as to certain Buddhist scriptures, and were as such considered unsurpassed models for the highest type of figure-painting; whether profane or religious, they transmitted the spirit and character of a true *wên-jên* through "brush-work like floating clouds and flowing water".

As a painter and man of the brush Li Lung-mien followed in the footsteps of the great masters of antiquity such as Ku K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei as well as Wu Tao-tzū and Han Kan. These names are often mentioned in the traditional attempts to characterize his importance as a transmitter of the classic tradition in painting; it does not mean that he imitated any of the old masters, simply that he knew them thoroughly and was able to transmit the spirit of their art. The old wine was poured into new bottles and given fresh flavour; Li Lung-mien was a genius, whereas the artists who followed him were more or less skilful imitators. But as his ideas and traditions of style were continued during several generations, it is difficult to pick out from the large number of paintings belonging to the broad current of his following some examples that in particular deserve to be remembered.

Among the artists mentioned as Li Lung-mien's immediate successors the "scholar" Ch'iao Chung-ch'ang is praised because he imitated the master so successfully that his works could be confused with those of Li Lung-mien.⁴ He was a skilful painter of religious as well as profane subjects, as appears from the titles of some of his pictures given in *Hua-chi*,

¹ Giles, *op. cit.*, 1592.

² Giles, 1780. Giles, 203.

³ Giles, 391.

⁴ Cf. *Hua-chien* by T'ang Hou. Edit. *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu*, Sect. III, 2.

viz. the Lohans in the Mountains, T'ao Yüan-ming Listening to the Wind in the Pine-Tree, Li Po Reaching after the Moon, Lao-tzu Riding away through the Pass, etc.

The painter's name is attached to a short handscroll in the Freer Gallery (19.175) known as "Families Moving their Residence". Two women are riding on a donkey and a buffalo respectively, while the men are following on foot. It is painted with slight colour on silk (Pl.200). The picture is remarkable for its strikingly realistic characterization of the rustic figures and animals which are drawn in a very fine and firm *kung pi* manner and slightly coloured. The style is essentially more akin to what we know of the painting of the Five Dynasties period than to painting of the Sung period, even though the execution may be of the latter date, and it has hardly any connexion with the so-called Li Lung-mien tradition of *pai miao* painting.

This impression is also strengthened if we compare the picture with the much longer handscroll, now in private Chinese possession in New York, which is fully signed and documented as a work by Ch'iao Chung-ch'ang.¹ The picture illustrates the so-called second Red Cliff poem by Su Tung-p'o and is executed in pure *kung pi* manner with ink only on paper. By its general stylistic proclivity and technical execution it adheres to the Li Lung-mien tradition, yet it reveals a rather distinct individuality. The continuous landscape formed by the winding river, the sharply-cut creviced rocks, large leafy trees and intimate homesteads enclosed by bamboo fences serves as a beautiful setting for the small figure groups, in which Su Tung-p'o is vividly presented with his companions. It is altogether a charmingly simple appealing illustration of the country home of the famous scholar. Stylistically the picture is, as said above, closely akin to Li Lung-mien's art, yet it has a tone of naturalistic freedom and intimacy which leads over to later representations of similar motifs by painters of the Yüan and Ming periods.

There were no doubt several able men who followed in the footsteps of Li Lung-mien, but only

a few of them are as well recorded as the master's page Chao Kuang, who used to stand at his side when he painted and gradually learned to do horse-pictures which were indistinguishable from those of Li Lung-mien. He was carried away among the prisoners from the capital in 1127, but seems to have regained freedom and devoted himself to Buddhist paintings.²

The very remarkable scroll, in the Freer Gallery (19.123), which represents Views of an Imperial Summer Palace (or, "Cassia Hall and Epidendrum Palace"), should also be remembered at this place among the works by Li Lung-mien's followers. It is related to the master's art by its very delicate technical execution but quite distinct from it in the conception, a rare motif. Essentially a so-called "boundary painting" (*chieh hua*), it is executed with the help of ruler and foot-measure. The buildings are represented as seen from above; the complicated terraces, balustrades and galleries following the courts among the trees of a fine garden are to be seen inside as well as from without. They form an extensive and intricate architectural prospect, but they are drawn with so delicate lines that they almost lose their character of material structures and appear like visions in a dream. The pale grey tone of the paper absorbs the thin lines and makes the picture look still more delicate than it may have been from the beginning. Paintings of this type became more frequent in the sixteenth century – the time of Ch'iu Ying and Yu Ch'iu – than they were in the Sung period, though the Ming artists very seldom reached the subtle refinement of this exquisite example of boundary painting (Pl.201).

It may be interesting to note that Li Lung-mien, just like his spiritual ancestor, Ku K'ai-chih, also painted portraits, remarkable for their psychological characterization. One such portrait is mentioned by T'ang Hou (in *Huo-chien*) with the following

¹ The picture, which once formed part of the Manchu Household collection, was shown to me last winter in New York by Mr. Joseph U. Seo who had it on loan from a Chinese friend.

² Cf. Agnes E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p.231, with quotations from Chinese sources.

words: "I once saw a portrait of old Hsü Shên; it was painted in a sketchy manner and animated by spiritual expression. On it there were three lines of poetry written in archaic script; the whole thing was an excellent work." And to this the author adds, that the pictures done by Li Lung-mien towards the end of his life looked very old-fashioned, and so did his writing of the same period.

An authentic portrait by Li Lung-mien might be something comparable – *mutatis mutandis* – to a portrait study by Jacopo Bellini or Van der Goes, but such a treasure has, to our knowledge, not as yet been discovered. I should, however, like to mention here, *faute de mieux*, half a dozen small paintings from an album representing full-length portraits of some old scholars. Two of these pictures are now in the Freer Gallery and two in the Ada S. Moore collection at Yale and others in private possession. They are known under the title *The Five Old Men of Sui-yang*, i.e. a district in Honan where these old men lived in the early part of the Sung period.¹ Their names, ranks and ages are mentioned in the inscriptions; they are all octogenarians who had served in high positions as scholars and statesmen and they seem to have been painted after earlier sketches from life.

The characterization depends mainly on the rendering of the white-bearded faces, and to a minor degree also on the bearing and position of the single figures. They are all standing slightly turned towards the side, but make no gestures, no apparent movement; they are collected, holding their hands clasped on their chests. The long black gowns fall in a few broad folds from their shoulders to the feet, and their white heads are crowned by the scholar's high black cap. But with this utter simplicity in design and colour the artist has been able to evoke not only a general air of dignity and thoughtfulness but also individual nuances of character. These men, whatever their names and positions may have been, seem like typical representatives of the deep-rooted race of Confucian sages who in the Sung period formed the pillars of the social structure in China.

These pictures are mentioned here not because of any immediate stylistic connexion with the art of Li Lung-mien, but simply as examples of the kind of portraiture that existed at the time. They represent a tradition which was maintained and developed by Li Lung-mien and his school (Pl.202).

A larger picture likewise in the Freer Gallery, representing *A Young Lady in White*, may also be classified as a portrait. She stands turned halfway to the right, carrying a basket and a fan in her lifted hand. The long robe which covers her feet is held together at the waist with a long sash. The design is very simple, and distinguished by the noble repose well known from some of the religious paintings of the period.

The attribution (on an old label) to Ho Ch'ung, a contemporary of Li Lung-mien, is probably based on an old tradition and may be correct with regard to the design, but not with regard to the execution. It refers to a painter of very moderate fame, but known as a portraitist. He was a *hsin ts'ai* and a friend of Su Tung-p'o who is said to have asked when he sat as a model for the painter: "Why do you make my portrait?" To which the painter replied: "Because it amuses me" (Pl.203).

In the year 1050 he was commissioned to paint a posthumous portrait of a prominent old country baron, which then on days of memorial services was exhibited in the ancestral hall. The notice is worth remembering as an indication that such ancestral portraits were, at least in the Sung period, done by high-class painters and considered works of art just as much as the religious paintings.

Another well-known picture which also stylistically belongs to the current of Li Lung-mien's following is the handscroll in the Boston Museum which contains illustrations to the *Nine Songs of Ch'ü Yüan*, i.e. the same text as inspired Li Lung-mien to one of the most elaborate of his scrolls mentioned above. The pictures have been reproduced and thoroughly discussed in an article by Mr. K. Tomita

¹ Described and reproduced in F. S. Kwen's catalogue of the *Laiyuan* pictures.

in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, October 1937; most of them are quite simple and consist only of one or two figures, impersonating spirits of heaven and earth, placed in landscapes or among clouds. Only the first picture in the series is more elaborate; it represents The Great Unity – the Sovereign of the East – and the Lord of the Clouds with their attendants. There is a more attractive picture, however, the one which represents the two daughters of the emperor Yao, both married to his successor, the emperor Shun, who suffered an untimely death by accident. The two ladies were overcome with grief and threw themselves into the Hsiang River and became thus the tutelary spirits of this river, known as the Lady of Hsiang and the Mistress of Hsiang (Pl.204).

In the picture they are shown wandering mournfully along a river bank. An autumn wind is rustling in the old trees which are bending protectingly over the women. The curving lines of the trees as well as of the long robes of the ladies seem to express the emotional rhythm of longing and mourning which forms the *Leitmotif* of the poem. The emphasis is on the linear drawing, which somewhat reminds us of Li Lung-mien's fluent manner, though the picture is not executed in ink only but with some addition of colour.

According to a record of the eighteenth century¹ the picture had formerly a label on which it was attributed to the Sung painter Chang Tun-li, but the label had been lost, and the picture is described as a work of the Yüan period, which, however, may be a too hasty conclusion, because the stylistic character of the picture reveals a definite Sung tradition. But to what extent the attribution to "Chang Tun-li" should be accepted is a more complicated problem, because there were two painters with this name in the Sung period; the older one active in the reign of Chê-tsung (1086–1101), the younger about a hundred years later, and he changed his name to Chang Hsün-li when the word *tun* became taboo in the reign of Kuang-tsung (1190–1194). This younger

painter is known through a picture in the Palace Museum collection representing Scholars examining Pictures in a Garden, which is a typical academic work of the South Sung period without any stylistic connexion with the illustrations on the scroll in Boston.² They represent, as said above, a different stylistic tradition, derived mainly from Li Lung-mien, but to what extent this corresponds to the manner of the older Chang Tun-li is impossible to tell since no work of his is known. He was, practically speaking, contemporary with Li Lung-mien, and particularly appreciated for his very expressive illustrative paintings. Tang Hou writes:³ "In Chang Tun-li's paintings of human figures nobility and meanness, beauty and ugliness are reflected in the appearances. His style is careful and delicate and his divine coloration life-like. I have seen an admonitory painting by him in Chiang-nan representing the story of Ch'ên Yüan-ta, in which the spirit of loyalty and righteousness seems to radiate from the silk." This characterizing encomium might just as well have been composed for some of Li Lung-mien's admonitory pictures. The conceptions of the two painters or their attitudes towards kindred literary subjects seem to have been much the same and both worked in a refined *kung pi* manner, though the degree of correspondence between their individual styles must remain a matter of conjecture. Nor can the reasons for the attribution of the scroll of the Nine Songs to Chang Tun-li be more closely determined. It is mentioned here as a relatively early example of the Li Lung-mien style tradition. But, as will be found in later chapters, this lived on not only through the Sung and Yüan but also through most of the Ming period, and was time and again revived by gifted painters some of whom we shall meet in later Chapters.

¹ By Hu Ching, one of the compilers of the third series of *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*. This and other historical information regarding the attributions of the picture are to be found in the article by K. Tomita in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, October 1938.

² *K.-k. Shu-hua chi*, vol. XXXV.

³ In *Ku-chiu hua-chien* (c.1329).

Religious Paintings

LI LUNG-MIEN's influence on the subsequent evolution of figure-painting is often supported by the statement that he was the transmitter of the stylistic ideals of the great masters of T'ang and earlier epochs. His importance in this respect is compared with that of Wu Tao-tzū in spite of the fact that Wu was pre-eminently a master of monumental wall-paintings, while Li Lung-mien "cut down the size of his picture radically and painted exclusively on Ch'êng Hsin T'ang paper, accomplishing in this way the most wonderful things", to use the words of a Ming critic, who furthermore adds: "I have never seen a work by him done with a large brush, yet it was not because he was unable to paint vigorous things (that he did not use a large brush), but because he was afraid of approaching the brush-manner of common workers."

The statement is interesting as an indication of certain fundamental features in Li Lung-mien's artistic personality and his way of working, but may also serve as a sort of general guide in our attempts to identify his individual creations. He represented an entirely different type of painting from that of his predecessors of the T'ang period. To them the large temple walls and the traditional Buddhist iconography offered welcome opportunities for individual creations, whereas in the time of Li Lung-mien (and later) this kind of religious figure-painting was entrusted to professional painters, who were not considered artists of the same class as scholars and gentlemen-painters, i.e. the creative masters who transposed all motifs, whether profane or religious, according to their literary and philosophical con-

cepts, and wrote them down as they wrote their poems and essays.

According to the old chroniclers quoted above, Li Lung-mien's occupation with Buddhist motifs was started by the warning of a Ch'an monk who told him that if he simply kept on painting horses, he would be reborn as a horse, a warning that Li understood, because he was "devoted to Ch'an practices". Thenceforward he concentrated on Buddhist paintings. The change may not have been quite as sudden as appears from these words by T'êng Ch'un, yet it is evident that Li's religious and admonitory paintings became more frequent towards the end of his life.

Some of the most famous scroll-paintings with religious motifs by Li Lung-mien, such as the illustrations to the *Hua-yen sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* were mentioned in the preceding chapter; to the same class may be added other works, as for instance *The Eighteen Lohans Crossing the Sea to Pay Homage to Kuanyin* (which was signed and dated 1080) and another representing *The Five Hundred Lohans*, said to have been very rich in character and dramatic expression, not to mention the quasi-profane picture called *Fan-wang li Fo t'u*, i.e. *Barbarian Kings Paying Homage to Buddha*. These were all illustrative compositions with realistic details and a more or less marked admonitory significance. It may well be that he also painted some more purely devotional and decorative paintings representing Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, though only one of them is specially mentioned by the early historians. The most telling reference to it is by

Têng Ch'un in *Hua-chi*; after his remark that Li Lung-mien always sought to be original and extraordinary in his Buddhist paintings, "so as to startle common people", the writer continues: "He painted the long-robed Kuanyin with a sash that was one and a half of the body's length; and for Lii Chi-fu he did a picture of Kuanyin reclining on a cliff, which was something that had never been seen before. Furthermore he painted a Tzū-tsai Kuanyin seated crosslegged with the palms of her hands joined, sunk in perfect repose. He said, the people of the world think that one cannot sit in this manner (and be comfortable), but the poise is the result of the mental and not of the physical attitude" (as explained by the painter). To which Têng Ch'un adds: "From this may be realized that whatever is done by men of noble character and great scholars is always right" – which probably means that whatever liberties great painters may take in regard to conventional rules of iconography, these always serve to enhance the artistic interest of their creations.

If we recall that the traditional Kuanyin pictures of the T'ang and earlier periods usually represented the compassionate Bodhisattva in the guise of an Indian prince (sometimes with a moustache), we may realize the startling effect produced by the new feminine Bodhisattva type which gained prevalence in Chinese art at the beginning of the Sung period. The transformation of the Bodhisattva of compassion from a male to a female being was a gradual process, due to religious and psychological conditions; it started already in the eighth century, but the new conception did not hold the field until the tenth or eleventh century, and probably received its final pictorial perfection through Li Lung-mien or under his influence. It must have been about this time that the graceful and benignant feminine being, who thenceforward represented Kuanyin Bodhisattva in Chinese art, was born. We have no documented copies of those Kuanyin paintings by Li Lung-mien which Têng Ch'un describes, but the general type or ideal that they represented is known from a number of paintings as well as sculptures, some of them from

the beginning of the twelfth century, if not earlier.

A favourite position of the Bodhisattva, illustrated in many wooden statues, is the *lalitasana*, i.e. Kuanyin seated on a rock with raised knee and sometimes clasped hands, draped in flowing robes and very long waving sashes. The same type of a meditating Bodhisattva was also represented in one of the large coloured stucco-paintings in Lung-hsing ssü in Chêng-ting (now destroyed) and in many later reliefs and paintings of the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods. These Bodhisattvas became very popular in Chinese art all through the centuries; they corresponded to the Chinese ideals of feminine grace and beauty in much the same way as the late Gothic Madonnas in trailing robes with long sashes filled the demand for images of tender religious feeling during a somewhat later age in Europe. This new Chinese Bodhisattva type underwent many variations and was in later periods often reduced to insipid beauties in fluttering robes, but even these sometimes reveal their descent from a common prototype whose distinctive features may be approximately reconstructed from the little we know about Li Lung-mien's art, and his conception of this particular motif, whose beauty unfortunately we are left to imagine.

No single picture by Li Lung-mien equivalent to a religious icon has to our knowledge been preserved, but there is a small picture ascribed to him which deserves to be remembered in this connexion, even though not strictly speaking an icon, but an illustration to a Buddhist legend (Pl. 199). It was formerly in the Kuroda collection in Tokyo and represents Vimalakirti, the legendary saint who occupied such a prominent place among the wall-paintings in the Tun-huang caves, seated in an easy posture on an ornamented platform, while a female attendant is approaching with some flowers (?) in a bowl. He is a bearded man with individualized features, and his observant eyes are directed on some distant goal. The head is surrounded by a large halo. It is, however, less the characterization of the man than his posture and wide flowing mantle that

interest us in this connexion. The easy posture with the raised knee, the turning at the hips and the draping of the sinuous mantle-folds, which spread in wavy patterns, on the floor would be equally appropriate to a meditating Bodhisattva. The linear transformation is no less soft and fluent than in the Bodhisattva statues and paintings mentioned above. The picture may consequently serve as an illustration of what may be called the "late Gothic" style, which proved almost as popular in China of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as in the late mediaeval art of Europe. The attribution to Li Lung-mien cannot be accepted (though based on an old tradition); the execution is more probably of the Yüan period, though somewhat related to the *kung pi* manner of Li Lung-mien.

The fundamental change in the representation of the Kuanyin Bodhisattva, noted above, to which Li Lung-mien may have contributed, was conducive towards a more strictly human and national form of presentation. The Bodhisattva became a suave and graceful lady with markedly Chinese features. Modifications of a similar nature can be observed in other religious motifs, among which the series of Sixteen or Eighteen Lohans or Arhats holds a prominent place.

In the art of the T'ang period and the Five Dynasties these venerable pupils or early followers of Śakyamuni Buddha were mostly represented in the guise of grim-looking old men of Hindu type, sometimes with strangely exaggerated grotesque features, for instance in the Lohan paintings ascribed to Kuan-hsiu. He was apparently the most important propagator, if not the creator, of the almost awe-inspiring Lohan type which prevailed in Chinese paintings during the tenth and eleventh centuries, not to mention later imitations. After that time a change became noticeable in the iconography and the characterization of the Lohan paintings. The compositions were developed in a more pictorial or imaginative sense, and the rather terrifying old men with their ravaged and foreign features were replaced by more pleasant-looking, well-nourished

monks of a rather jovial appearance, with oval-shaped faces in which the eyes are little more than narrow slits, and the nose is not too prominent. The types begin to lose their foreign aspect and become more Chinese, in other words, the motif as such is being naturalized or, one might say, nationalized.

The lack of sufficient dated material makes it impossible to indicate a definite time limit for this transformation, but there may be some foundation for the old Japanese temple-tradition, according to which Li Lung-mien had a decisive influence on it. Lohan paintings of a national type may have existed before him – as proved by some of the Shoryūji Lohans brought to Japan in 985 – but in the pictures traditionally associated with Li Lung-mien the type is fully developed. These, however, were all executed on a small scale in *pai miao* technique; whether he also did some larger pictures of the kind in colour (as claimed by tradition) is nowadays impossible to tell. The two Lohans attributed to him in the Academy of Art in Tokyo are the most beautiful of their kind, though hardly executed until after the middle of the twelfth century. Whatever their date may be, they are worth remembering as impressive examples of the Li Lung-mien tradition, which has been cherished for centuries in Japan no less than in China.

The somewhat later painters of Buddhist images, still active in the twelfth century, for instance, Chang Ssü-kung and Chou Chi-ch'ang, did little more than elaborate, or banalize his typical figures; they were apparently more interested in decorative effect and ornamental patterns than in the psychological or religious aspects of the motifs.

The main centres of this production of Buddhist pictures in the twelfth century were in the south (Chekiang and Kiangsi), and the paintings were as a rule made to order for certain temples, not by a single master but through the co-operation of two or more painters who maintained a common workshop for this purpose. Most of the pictures produced in this way through the co-operation of various hands were probably never considered works of art.

in the proper sense of the word, but rather as illustrations to sacred texts or as colourful decorations to be used on festival occasions in the temples. In scope they thus corresponded – *mutatis mutandis* – to the wall-paintings which at this time (and later on), were executed in great quantities in the northern part of the country, then under the rule of the Chin Tartars. But whereas the wall-paintings, as may be observed in the specimens in the British Museum and in some American collections, were of a hieratic kind in accordance with the rules of iconography and traditional patterns of the T'ang period, the temple-paintings on silk generally represented somewhat freer naturalistic illustrations to popular legends, or more or less fantastic representations of the miraculous powers invested in the holy personages, whether Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or Lohans.

The artistically most important Lohan-pictures of this period are the above-mentioned pictures in the Art Academy in Tokyo. The holy men are here represented seated on stones under old trees, one of them accompanied by a high civil official who stands in a praying attitude, the other attended by a woman servant who is carrying a large vase with a lotus-flower, and a deer which is bringing flowers in its mouth. The designs are perfectly balanced, and the latter picture particularly is remarkable for the formal interplay or mutual support of the two figures, obtained in part through the no less complicated than easy movement of the patriarch, whose gaze we follow towards the deer with the flower in its mouth. They are pictures of great dignity executed in a technique which bespeaks the South Sung period (Pl.205).

Next to these should be mentioned the famous set representing five hundred Lohans, divided into one hundred pictures, of which eighty-two belong to Daitokuji in Kyōto, while ten are in the Museum in Boston and the eight remaining either lost or hidden in private collections. The whole set was brought to Japan in the thirteenth century and was sometimes honoured with the name of Li Lung-mien. This may indeed seem surprising, since several

of these pictures in Daitokuji bear inscriptions, written in gold, which contain the names of two otherwise quite unknown painters – Chou Chich'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei – and also the information that the whole set was executed in 1178 for a temple in Ning-po, where the two painters maintained a common workshop. It might be admitted that the pictures reveal an indirect connexion with the art of Li Lung-mien in the types and the tendency to illustrate the miraculous powers of the Lohans, but they are, generally speaking, more entertaining in a popular sense than spiritually expressive. Two or three examples chosen among the pictures now in Boston must here serve as representatives of the whole series; the general principles of composition are the same in them all, though they are applied with considerable variations, and the execution is somewhat uneven, possibly owing to the division of the work between two or more hands.

An interesting example, effective in design and imbued with the air of a miraculous event, is the representation of four Lohans and two attendants witnessing the transfiguration of a Lohan. He is seated in a cave at the lower edge of the picture and is surrounded by a dragon and waves of surging water. But the holy man is quite undisturbed by the vehemence of these raging elements; he is sunk in deep meditation, with his eyes closed and hands joined in his lap (Pl.206). The other men are borne upon the clouds above the cave as if they were present in vision rather than in reality, and witnessing from far away the transformation of their comrade, whose spiritual consciousness may be travelling through unknown regions of the universe while his body is motionless in the cave. The lower portion of this picture is deeply imbued with an atmosphere of mystic experience, whereas the upper part with the monks on the clouds is more traditional. The quasi-mystical concept and the general design as well as some of the single figures remind us of corresponding parts in Li Lung-mien's illustrations to the miraculous adventures of the Lohans. The stylistic connexion seems obvious, though only indirect.

The same may also be said of the picture which illustrates Lohans demonstrating before Taoist heretics the mysterious power of the sūtras, a scene of mystic import which in spirit and form is akin to certain portions of Li Lung-mien's scroll known as *The White Lotus Club*. The scene here too is laid in a grotto. On the large altar which forms the centre of the design is a bundle of rolled up sutras; the flames are shrinking away from it, and instead of burning, the sutra-scrolls are emitting rays of light (Pl. 207). The figures in front of the altar are grouped in the shape of a V at almost the same angle as the rays emanating from the altar and attracting the attention of the disputing parties. The five Lohans are obviously rejoicing over the phenomena, while their adversaries, the Taoists, show considerable consternation. They are all deeply impressed by the miraculous power which is centred in the bundle on the altar, and it is to this that all regards are drawn as to a focal point. The picture is signed by Chou Chi-ch'ang, who seems to have been the more original of the two painters. Lin T'ing-kuei signed the preceding picture and also the somewhat similar one representing an Indian rajah on a camel offering a large coral to Lohans who are descending on clouds: a composition perfectly adapted to the high and narrow proportions of the picture.

The same kind of curving vertical design may be observed in several of these paintings, sometimes accentuated by trees and water-courses, sometimes by rocks and clouds, and always imparting a certain rhythmic unity to the compositions. Such general principles of design have also been perpetuated in later Buddhist paintings, the main figures being placed usually in the upper part of the picture and drawn on a somewhat larger scale than the rest. They serve to mark not only the ideal but also the decorative centre of the composition, and as they look down upon the minor figures below, the beholder is invited to do likewise. In other words, the direction is from the top towards the bottom in a formal sense as well as in thought.

A later and distinctly inferior stage in the development of the Lohan paintings in South China may be observed in the fairly numerous works which bear the signature of Lu Hsin-chung. This painter is unrecorded in Chinese books but mentioned in *Kundaikan Saychoki*, and according to the inscriptions on some of the paintings he conducted a workshop in the Shih-pu street in Ning-po and seems to have employed a number of assistants. No definite dates regarding his activity are known, but it may be assumed on stylistic grounds that he worked at the very end of the Sung period.

The two series of Lohan pictures which bear the name of Lu Hsin-chung are much alike, though the pictures in Shokokuji, Kyōto, are a little larger and more elaborate (occasionally with the addition of one or two figures) than the corresponding pictures in Boston, which are simpler in design but more even and executed with greater care. The artistic significance of all these pictures is, however, a matter of design and colouring rather than of individual accents in the brushwork. They are products of highly-trained professional painters who successfully used traditional designs. In the best of these paintings the drawing actually becomes a means for suggesting an emotional or meditative note, and the colouring may also serve to enhance this, besides adding greatly to the decorative effect.¹

One of the best examples of these qualities is the picture of the fourteenth Lohan. He is seated in contemplation by the bank of a lotus pond, the figure being placed towards one side of the picture. On the other side grows a curving willow-tree. Behind it a servant is approaching with something on a tray – but hesitatingly, as if he were afraid of disturbing the holy man, who sits motionless, contemplating the message of the lotus flower. The trunk of the willow rises tranquilly, balancing the figure and with its long curve accompanying the

¹ According to H. Watanabe's article on Signed Pictures of the Sung and Yüan periods in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, September 1935, Lu Hsin-chung also painted a series of ten pictures illustrating the Kings of Hell (now in Honenji, Kagawa-ken) and a picture of Buddha's death (now in Hoyō-in, Aichi-ken).

lines of the mantle-folds, and the tender foliage of the tree and the flowers in the pond are moving softly as in an evening breeze. The harmony of the design reflects the deep peace in the soul of the holy man (PL208).

A similar correspondence between the decorative design and the psychology of the motif may be observed in some of the other Lohan pictures, for instance, in the representation of the eighth patriarch watching the fight between two dragons. Here everything is a sudden outburst of wrath and fear. The slim bodies of the furious dragons are moving like flashes of lightning through the splashing waves. The holy man has jumped up from his seat on the rocky bank to save his feet from the raised claws of the animals; he is clinging to a trunk that bends across the scene but keeps his eyes intently fixed on the fight. The tree and the man intersect exactly in the centre of the picture; they mark the two main diagonals of the composition, which thus gains a perfect balance in spite of the prevailing impetuosity, which also is reflected in the quick and energetic brush-work.

There are other series of Lohan paintings of the late Sung period, for instance the pictures signed "Hsi-chin chü-shih", some of which used to be in the East Asiatic Museum in Berlin, while others are in the National Museum in Tokyo. As works of art, however, they are not on a level with Lu Hsin-chung's best pictures, nor do they reveal any noticeable dependence on the Li Lung-mien tradition. And we know nothing more about this monk painter than about Lu Hsin-chung; he, too, worked at Ning-po while the Sung dynasty was still reigning in Hangchow. It is evident that Ning-po and the great monasteries in the mountains beyond the city were the main centres of Buddhist painting in the South Sung period; and as Ning-po was also the port for the trade and intercommunications with Japan, it is easily explained why so many of these Buddhist pictures have reached Japan and from there (in a few instances) American and European collections. The painters who executed these pic-

tures are mostly forgotten in China, while their names in some instances have been preserved in Japanese temple records.

We have already mentioned two or three such cases; one more example is Chang Ssü-kung who is completely unknown in China, but placed in the highest class of Buddhist painters by Soami in *Kundaikan*.¹ More than a dozen pictures are ascribed to him in Japanese collections, but none of them is signed (as far as I know), and no definite dates regarding his activity have been transmitted. The reconstruction of the artistic personality is consequently rather tentative, though it must be admitted that the Buddha and Bodhisattva paintings attributed to Chang Ssü-kung are of a fairly uniform and easily recognizable type. They are all characterized by an unusual degree of graceful softness and elegance, accentuated in the flowing garments richly embroidered with gold and silver. The pictures are remarkable for their refinement of execution and ornamental splendour rather than for any psychological characterization. Among the examples of this group may be mentioned the Amida Trinity in the Inouye collection and the richly decorated Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, seated on an elephant and a lion respectively, the former in Japan,² the latter in Boston.

If tradition is correct, the same painter was, however, also capable of doing excellent portraits such as the famous picture representing Pu-k'ung Chin-kang in Kozanji, Kyoto. It is a picture of unusual dignity and decorative beauty. The bearded man in a red priest's mantle over a violet undergarment is seated in a large, draped chair; his legs are folded on the seat but hidden by his long garment; his hands are joined in his lap. It is a position of meditation, though the eyes are not closed. The stout form and the large round head are rendered with very slight gradations of tone, yet they stand

¹ *Kundaikan Sayachuki*, translated by O. Kümmler, *Oriental. Zeitschrift*, I, p. 15.

² Cf. *Kokka*, Nos. 149, 249, *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan*, vol. VIII, Pls. 31-33.

out convincingly in strong relief due to the excellent drawing. The decorative unity is perfectly preserved in spite of the very rich ornamentation of the drapery and the garments, and though no strong accents are noticeable either in the characterization or in the plastic modelling, the picture is one of the most convincing and attractive priest portraits of the Sung period (Pl.209).

Somewhat later in date but hardly less impressive as a portrait is the picture in Tofukuji in Kyoto, which represents the famous Ch'an master Wu-chun (1175-1249). According to the inscription, it was painted in 1238 (or shortly before), but there is no indication as to the artist; it may have been another monk painter, of a fairly traditional type. The style is not very different from that of the above-mentioned portrait, even though the decorative effect is softer owing to a less marked stylization and ornamental elaboration. Wu-chun is seated in a big chair holding his abbot's staff cross-wise over his knees, his thin face has a slight beard and moustache, his eyes are wide open, reflecting keen intelligence and attention. He was one of the most prominent Ch'an masters of the early thirteenth century, active as a writer and painter as well as a teacher, often mentioned in the history of art as the master of Mu-ch'i. Some specimens of his skill as an impressionistic ink-painter will be observed in a later chapter, but his effigy may be remembered at this place, because it is executed in a more traditional style and represents a rather unusual degree of individual characterization. The head alone is like a drawing by Dumonstier or some kindred master of the early seventeenth century in Europe (Pl.210).

Most of the Buddhist pictures of this period are, as a matter of fact, anonymous works or produced by painters whose names are not recorded by the leading art-historians. They form, so to speak, a group of their own within the large mass of contemporary painting, and as they mostly represent traditional iconographic patterns and styles they do not fit into the general rhythm of the stylistic evolution. This applies in particular to the wall-

paintings which were produced in great numbers in north China, during the domination of the Chin Tartars, and which in many cases were simply repetitions of earlier paintings. Definite dates are exceedingly difficult in regard to such paintings not only because they adhere to earlier patterns but also in view of the fact that many of them have been renewed at various places in conjunction with the repairs on the respective buildings. As an example it may be recalled that the Ch'ing-liang temple at Hsin-t'ang (near Ch'eng-ting in Hopei), whence some important frescoes were transferred to the British Museum in 1926, was founded 1188, rebuilt 1424 and restored 1466-1468.¹ These various dates have all been proposed as time limits for the execution of the paintings, which even if they retain the stylistic appearance of products of the Sung period, may be faithful copies of the early Ming period.

The same is true of other wall-paintings brought from China to western museums, as for instance, the beautiful Bodhisattva figures which used to decorate the entrance hall of the Maison Loo in Paris. They too represent a style which corresponds to our notion of Sung painting, yet a definite indication of their date would be hazardous. The graceful nobility which distinguishes these figures is no longer to be found in the wall-paintings executed in the Yüan period (now in the museums in Toronto and Kansas City) nor in the more ordinary works of the Ming period.

Among the Buddhist pictures on silk of a hierarchic type which may be ascribed to the Sung period are a few of outstanding beauty and refinement. To enumerate and describe them all is not possible at this place, but I would point out the Thousand-armed Kuanyin in Ehoji in Gifu as a representative example (Pl.211). This Bodhisattva is represented in full front view, standing on clouds, spreading his numberless arms and hands with various attributes like a radiating nimbus on both sides of the torso, while his head is crowned by a

¹ Cf. The Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese Frescoes, by Laurence Binyon.

tiara formed of eleven small heads looking in every direction. In spite of all these iconographic monstrosities or symbolic attributes, the figure is impressive owing to its decorative beauty, which is produced by the strictly symmetrical arrangement. It may be called archaistic, because of its strict frontality and the wing-like shape of the garment folds at the feet, yet the linear pattern is imbued with a soft feminine beauty truly fitting for the gracious Bodhisattva, who is venerated as the loving guide and protector of the human race in the present age.

Illustrations to sūtra scrolls, which form another special group of Buddhist painting, are nowadays very rare, no doubt in consequence of their frequent rolling and unrolling during the centuries. Li Kung-lin and some other of the great masters did pictures of this kind, but they exist no longer. The only dateable example of sutra paintings from the Sung period known to me is an illustration to the Vimalakīrti Sūtra painted in gold and silver on purple silk, which forms part of the Bahr collection

in the Metropolitan Museum. According to the inscription, the scroll was written and illustrated in 1118 at the command of the prime minister of Nan-Chao (*i.e.* Yünnan) as a gift for the envoy from the Sung emperor, who at the time was acknowledged as the supreme ruler even in the far South (PL.212).

The picture shows Vimalakīrti seated on a throne, surrounded by a great number of divine beings, Bodhisattvas and guardians. A diminutive man is prostrating himself before the throne of Vimalakīrti, while other figures of equally small size are shown in various occupations in small rooms along the side of the platform. The technical execution, mainly with gold on fine purple silk, is exquisite, and the same is true of the writing. It is altogether a unique specimen of the finest calligraphy and illumination made in Buddhist monasteries in South China: traditional in spirit and iconography, but executed by a master whose individual style and refinement may well be called characteristic of the Sung period.

Painters of Flowers, Birds and Animals

ACCORDING TO the traditions quoted in a previous chapter, there existed from the middle of the tenth century two principal currents of style in the field of bird and flower-painting, the one starting from the academic school of Huang Ch'üan, the other from the art of Hsü Hsi. To what extent the two schools really deviated is difficult to tell as very few, if any, authentic paintings by their early representatives have been preserved, but it should be remembered that the Chinese critics usually characterize Huang's art of painting by the expression *hsieh shêng*, i.e. to "draw (or paint) from life", while Hsü Hsi's manner of painting was *hsieh i*, i.e. idea-writing by means of a more expressionistic brush-work. Huang's painting from life, which was done according to the *mo ku* or boneless manner with light washes of colour, became gradually the more popular. It was no doubt most appropriate for obtaining natural likeness with the flowers and birds and made less demand on the painter's inspiration and power of concentration. It corresponded to the aesthetic taste in official circles as well as to the fundamental Confucian attitude towards painting. The foremost representative of this official trend in flower and bird-painting was Huang Ch'üan's son, Chü-ts'ai, who was made a "painter in attendance" and whose "activities were henceforth all in the Forbidden Palace", but Hsü Hsi's grandson Hsü Ch'ung-sü is also said to have adopted the same style. It became, as a matter of fact, the prevailing style among the flower and bird-painters during the Northern Sung period and reached a kind of climax in the literary naturalism cultivated in the emperor Hui-tsung's Academy.

It should also be remembered that this kind of illustrative flower and bird-painting, which held such a favourite position at court and in popular estimate during the Northern Sung period, was not simply a pictorial commemoration of the living beauty of the parks and gardens, it had also an intellectual or a moral significance in the Confucian sense. This was connected with the traditional symbolic implications of most of the flowers and birds represented by the painters. The motifs were as a rule chosen with a view to their symbolic meaning rather than for purely aesthetic reasons and the paintings were read just as much as enjoyed for their decorative beauty. This kind of intellectual symbolism may seem to us of little or no interest from an artistic viewpoint, yet it was to the Chinese a matter of primary importance, as may be realized also from the way the matter is presented in the Introduction to the section on Flower and Bird-painting in the imperial catalogue *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, to quote:

"The intellectual significance of paintings of flowers and birds is quite the same as that of poems. Thus, for instance, the various kinds of peonies and birds, like the phoenix and the kingfisher, suggest wealth and nobility, while pine-trees, bamboos, peach-blossoms, chrysanthemums, sea-gulls, geese and ducks, represent seclusion and idleness. And if the proud grandeur of the cock, the aggressive manners of the hawk, the luxuriant growth of the willow and the *wu-t'ung* tree, or the confused and tangled appearance of tall pines or old cedars, are properly represented in a painting, they can arouse thoughts in

men. They all express some ideas of the creator and transmit them to the soul of the spectator, and thus offer the same enjoyment as the things themselves when seen before the eye."

The Introduction winds up with the statement that all the most famous painters of this kind, from Hsieh Chi and Kuo Kan-hui of the T'ang period to Chao Ch'ang and Ts'ui Po of the Sung, are represented in the imperial collection; forty-six men in all.

The biographical notes regarding Ts'ui Po and the comments on his art are practically the same in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* and *T'u-hua chien-wên chih*. The following is quoted from the first-named book: "Ts'ui Po, *tzü Tzū-hsi*, was a man from Hao-liang. He was a good painter of flowers, bamboo, feathers and fur, lotus-flowers, ducks, geese, Taoist and Buddhist images, spiritual beings, hills, woods, birds and animals, excelling in painting all kinds of living things, but geese in particular. He brought out the essentials in everything that he painted and expressed his thoughts easily and freely with the brush, doing it all - whether the things were curved or straight, square or round - without the use of plumb-line or foot-rule and yet quite exactly. At the beginning of the Hsi-ning era (1068-1078) he attracted the attention of the emperor and received together with Ai Hsüan, Ting Kuang, and Ko Shou-ch'ang an order to decorate a silk screen for the Ch'ui-kung Hall with tall bamboos, wild apples and cranes. Ts'ui Po proved to be superior to the others. He was appointed an assistant teacher (*i-hsüeh*) in the Academy of Painting, but as Ts'ui Po was of an easy going and unrestrained nature, he refused to accept this. By special favour he then obtained the permission not to be obliged to work except on imperial command. After that he applied himself earnestly to his task. In certain qualities Po surpassed his predecessors, but he showed an excessive reliance on his own wit. . . . Among other things he painted Hsieh An climbing the East Mountain, and Tzū-yu (Wang Hui-chih) visiting Tai K'uei.¹ These could not have been done except by a man

who had a deep and comprehensive feeling for the ancients and who had thoroughly incorporated their thoughts in his brush-work. Ever since the time of T'ai-tsung the members of the Imperial Academy had accepted the style of Huang Ch'üan and his son as their standard, but with the appearance of Ts'ui Po and Wu Yüan-yü the style changed."

If we may trust the words of the biographer quoted above as well as the verdicts of Kuo Jo-hsü and some other early critics, Ts'ui Po was considered the foremost among the bird and flower-painters in the reign of the emperor Shên-tsung (1068-1085). His productivity must have been large and almost exclusively intended for the imperial collection which, according to the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, contained no less than 241 pictures by the artist. Most of these represented various kinds of birds, such as ducks, geese, swans, herons, magpies, ravens, doves, etc., usually in combination with flowering plants or windswept trees, willows, bamboos and so on, but there were also a few examples of his religious paintings; none of the last has, to our knowledge, been preserved, but bird-pictures attributed to Ts'ui Po are not too rare in Far Eastern collections (Cf. Pls. 213, 214).

The Palace Museum collection contains at least half a dozen of them, some of which look like copies rather than originals (at least in reproduction), while others may serve as illustrations of the master's style. Among the latter should be mentioned the picture representing Two Magpies in an Old Tree Mocking at a Hare on the Ground below² and another which shows A Heron and Tall Bamboos in Strong Wind.³ As may be realized from these descriptive titles, both pictures are illustrative compositions; the birds (and the animal) are placed in a definite situation or atmosphere which emphasizes the literary or illustrative meaning of the picture. The croaking

¹ For historical notes re Hsieh An and Wang Hui-chih see Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, 724 and 2184.

² *K.-k. Shu-lua chi*, vol. VIII.

³ *Op. cit.*, vol. XXXI.

birds seem to be mocking at the hare, which is huddling on the ground, evidently rather annoyed by his volatile tormentors. Both pictures bear the signature of the master, and the former is dated 1061, which even if it cannot be accepted as a guarantee of their authenticity, adds to their historical interest.

A well-known picture in the Freer Gallery representing Two Mandarin Ducks under a Flowering Shrub may also be mentioned in this connexion. It has no attribution and is impaired by the restoration of the worn and damaged spots, but it reveals nevertheless a pictorial refinement and sensitiveness in the brush-work that retain something of the spirit of the North Sung period. The lanky plant on the shore and the two ruffled birds are painted with a very sensitive brush (Pl.215).

Wu Yüan-yü was Ts'ui Po's immediate successor and competitor, though perhaps not so much of a professional painter. His *zũ* was Kung-ch'i, and he served in various military positions in the reigns of the emperors Shên-tsung and Chê-tsung. According to the biographical note in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, he was to begin with attached to the court of Prince Wu, but entered military service and was sent to Kuang-chou as an inspector of army horses. He must, however, have been very influential in the Academy of Painting, because we are told that he made the members of the Academy leave the traditional ruts of the Huang school and "start to paint in a freer way by which they could express their own thoughts and feelings". They followed the lead of Wu Yüan-yü, and there was a continuous stream of people seeking to obtain some specimens of his brush. The demand for his paintings increased with the years; but when Yüan-yü grew old and no longer was able to wield the brush, he took the copies made by assistants and imitators, stamped them with his seals, and made them pass as his own works, thus satisfying the popular demand. Only Yüan-yü himself could distinguish such imitations. When shortly afterwards he passed away, he had the rank of a high military official (Wu-kung tai-fu).

The imperial collection contained no less than 189 works by this painter.

No original paintings by Wu Yüan-yü seem to have survived in the later imperial collections, if we may judge by the fact that not one has been reproduced in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi* or other publications issued by the Palace Museum. The best-known work attributed to the master is a minor picture in the Abe collection, now in the Ōsaka Museum, representing Two Golden Orioles on the Branches of a Blossoming Pear-tree.¹ The writing on the picture is in the manner of the emperor Hui Tsung and there is also the emperor's seal. But the inscriptions as well as the rather dry brush-work can hardly be explained otherwise than as imitations. The very prettiness of the picture, which is accentuated in coloured reproductions, is more like that of a Ming than of a Sung painting.

The two pictures of white swans, or so-called long-necked Chinese geese, acquired in Peking, 1922, by Miss Alice O'Brien of St. Paul, Minn., should also be remembered at this place because of their old attribution to Wu Yüan-yü. They form a pair and are both inscribed with the artist's name and the date 1103 (the year before his death). One represents a Gander, the other a Goose, the latter floating on the water with two goslings on her back, the former strutting proudly on the shore with the other half of the family. The excellent designs and the vivid characterization of the male and the female bird respectively may well be due to the master, whereas the actual execution (as far as it can be observed in photographs) does not give the impression of the same high standard as is evident in the designs. Could they possibly be replicas of the kind that Wu Yüan-yü appropriated as his own works towards the end of his life, or are they copies of later date? (Pl.216). The questions may here be left open.

The biography of Wu Yüan-yü in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* is preceded by an equally extensive life of Liu

¹ Reproduced in *Sorathun*, II, 12, and *T'z'z*, p.50; also in separate colour reproduction.

Yung-nien, *tzü* Chün-hsi, who thus also is classified as a flower and bird-painter, though he became no less famous as a landscapist. He was the grand-nephew of the dowager empress of Chên-tsung and as a boy already was taken into the palace service by the emperor Jên-tsung, where he made himself greatly appreciated through his wit and good manners. When grown up, he had a successful career as a military expert.

This did not prevent him from devoting himself to painting, and he is said to have reached the same proficiency in painting Buddhist and Taoist figures as in representing flowers, fruits, birds, animals, fishes and landscapes. The former were made after the strange models of Kuan-hsiu, whereas the latter were studies from nature. The subjects of most of the pictures mentioned in the Hsüan-ho catalogue are water-birds and plants, but there are also landscapes, and the only picture ascribed to Liu Yung-nien in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi*, vol. XLII, is a small landscape representing Peaks of the Shang Mountain Rising over a Misty Field, but it is evidently a copy of later date. The picture of a Goose in a private collection in China, which is reproduced in *Sogen* (p. 15) represents the same type of bird-painting as the works of Wu Yüan-yü.

Ai Hsüan was practically contemporary with Wu Yüan-yü (possibly a few years older) and a favourite of the emperor Shên-tsung (1068-1085), who employed him for certain works and had his name listed among the court painters in spite of the fact that he had not the standing of a regular academician. He painted plants and birds, specializing in quails, which he placed among withering grass or thorny shrubs suggestive of marshland or drab sandy plains. The picture in the former National Museum, representing An Eggplant and a Tuft of Cabbage, which is provided with Ai Hsüan's signature and an imperial seal, is obviously a copy of later date, but it is worth remembering as a characteristic design. Other minor paintings, such as the fan-shaped album-leaf in the Palace Museum collection representing Poppy Flowers,¹ and the picture of

Four Magpies Attacking a Grasshopper, in a Japanese collection², may also be mentioned as specimens of Ai Hsüan's very painstaking but somewhat dry manner of painting. He was apparently an excellent technician, but not as sensitive to the living charm of the flowers as for instance Chao Ch'ang.

The painters who specialized in flowers and birds were quite numerous at the end of the eleventh century. Many of their names are found in *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* and *Hua-chi* accompanied by short notes, and some are more extensively recorded in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*. But these records do not convey the impressions of very important artistic personalities, nor can it be said that the pictures reproduced under their names inspire much confidence. This applies for instance to Li Chi, Li Chang, Tai Wan, Ts'ui Ch'io, Ko Shou-ch'ang and Yo Shih-hsüan (who was represented by forty-one pictures in the imperial collection), not to mention the more independent or eccentric priest-painters like Hui-ch'ung and Chü-ning, who painted only when he was drunk. Their works would probably attract more interest today if they had been preserved.

I Yüan-chi is also classified in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* as a painter of flowers and birds, though he earned his greatest fame as a painter of deer and gibbons. His main activity seems to have fallen about the middle of the eleventh century or shortly after; he passed away suddenly in 1066 or 1067. His life is recorded in the Hsüan-ho catalogue, where a number of his works are listed, and also by Kuo Jo-hsü from whose account in *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* the following may be quoted:

"I Yüan-chi, *tzü* Ch'ing-chih, was a man from Ch'ang-sha of quick and extraordinary intelligence, surpassingly skilful as a painter. In his paintings of flowers, bees and cicadas, he revealed their innermost characteristics. To begin with he painted only flowers and fruits, but when he saw some paintings

¹ Cf. K.-k. Chou-k'an, V, 17.

² *Shina Kachō*.

by Chao Ch'ang, he sighed (realizing his inferiority), and from that time he set himself to paint things which the ancients had not represented so as to become famous. He painted henceforth only deer and gibbons.

"He travelled widely in Hunan and Hupei and walked more than a hundred li in the Wan-shou mountains in order to observe all the different kinds of apes, deer and roebucks and to gather impressions of trees and rocks. Thus he learned all their different characteristics and wild habits thoroughly and whatever he observed he stored in his heart. He lived for many months with the people in the mountains, enjoying this toilsome and simple way of life.

"Behind his own cottage in Ch'ang-sha he dug a pond in which he placed some stones, and between these he planted flowers and clumps of bamboo and reeds. Then he introduced some water-birds, and in this way he was enabled to observe through his windows the attitudes of the birds when moving or resting, playing or sleeping, which became a great help to his creative activity with the brush.

"In the *chia-ch'ên* year of the Chih-p'ing era (1064) when the Hsiao-yen hall in the Ching-ling shrine was constructed, Yüan-chi received official order to paint a screen for the Ying-li Hall of Fasting. On the central panel he painted T'ai-hu stones with some of the well-known pigeons from the capital and the celebrated flowers (*mutan*) from Lo-yang, but he decorated the side panels with peacocks. On a smaller screen for the Shên-yu hall he painted some roebucks; all these pictures wonderfully expressive.

"When Yüan-chi first received the imperial command, it made him very happy, and he said to his family: 'All through my life I have devoted myself to art, but only now have I got the opportunity of making myself famous'. Shortly afterwards he received an imperial order to proceed to the K'ai-hsien hall and to paint a picture on silk representing The Hundred Gibbons for the west gallery. An order was also given to a palace official to

superintend the work of the artist and to pay him an initial sum of 200,000 cash for chalk and ink. But he had not painted more than ten apes before he fell ill and died.

"All the works that I Yüan-chi did during his life were unlike those done by the common crowd. Some of his ideas were very free, others quite strict. He did not follow very closely any particular master, yet he knew how to appreciate the ancients. He surpassed all his contemporaries by far and enjoyed a great general appreciation. If Yüan-chi had had the opportunity of completing his picture of the Hundred Apes, he would have been richly rewarded by the emperor. But alas, he died suddenly.

"There are still pictures preserved in the world which he made from life, of roebucks, apes, peacocks, flowers and birds of the four seasons and studies of vegetables and fruits."¹

I Yüan-chi, who apparently never was a member of the Academy of Painting, must have been a rather unusual and independent artist, more highly appreciated after his death than during his life. The emperor Hui-tsung had collected no less than 245 pictures by the master, and Mi Fei, who as a rule does not spare his critical remarks, has nothing but praise to bestow on I Yüan-chi. His notes about the painter also suggest that I Yüan-chi's artistic superiority over the academicians was so marked that some of the latter even found means of shortening his life. Mi Fei wrote:

"I Yüan-chi was the only man after Hsü Hsi. He was an excellent painter of herbs and trees and the heart of leaves, birds and animals, just like Hsü Hsi of South T'ang. After him there was no one who could carry on the succession. He was, however, appreciated only as a painter of gibbons, which must be regretted. Some people say, in reference

¹ The editor of the text has added the following information: "In the I-chiao court of the Ch'ien-lung kuan he painted very beautiful roebucks, apes, trees and rocks. Another time he painted some hawks on a screen in the office of a magistrate (Tu-chien) in Yü-hang. After that the swallows which had made their nests in the room never came back."

to the wall-paintings in the Hsiao-yen hall, that Yüan-chi received order to paint only deer and gibbons, because his great skill had aroused the jealousy of the academicians, and finally he was poisoned."

To what extent this last remark may have been justified, is no longer possible to tell. It is true that Mi Fei is the only one who reports it, but Kuo Jo-hsü and the other critics may have suppressed it simply from deference to the very influential academic circles. It throws, however, an interesting light on the atmosphere prevailing in the field of painters and serves eminently to confirm the artistic superiority of I Yüan-chi.

I Yüan-chi's particular fame as a painter of gibbons has led to an abundant use of his name for pictures representing such motifs. Most of these are copies or imitations, but two or three of the pictures known to us may possibly be his own works. Foremost among these should be mentioned a portion of a handscroll in the Abe collection in the Ōsaka Museum representing a gathering of a great number of gibbons in varied and expressive positions along the creviced and hollowed mountains and in bare trees (PL217). The gibbons are characterized with humour and feeling in all sorts of intimate occupations: some are cuddling their young ones, some are cleaning themselves, others searching, climbing, hanging on their rope-like arms, resting, or hiding among caves and cliffs. The composition is indescribably rich; the rocks, the trees, the rushing water and the small elastic creatures form an intricate pattern, all vibrating with the breath of life communicated by a brush which is at the same time playfully sketchy and unfailing in exact definitions. The picture is not in the best state of preservation but has the quality of an original work of the Sung period, which tends to confirm the traditional attribution. Related to this picture in spirit and execution are the circular fan-paintings, representing playing monkeys from the Manchu Household collection. Two of them are reproduced in *Ch'ing-kung ts'ang* and one was exhibited in Hui-hua kuan in Peking

1954. Here the three monkeys are balancing on a tree branch, but in another example they are occupied in snatching young herons from their nest, while the mother of the birds is soaring above, crying anxiously. The scene had evidently been observed in nature, and it is rendered with no less humour than sympathy, expressed in the movements of the gibbons, one of which is cuddling a young bird like a baby, while another is waving one long arm to the crying mother-bird in the air. The compositional arrangement within the small circle is remarkable for its combination of balance and freedom and its suggestion of open space within the narrow frame (PL218).

There is a third and much larger picture (198 × 103 cm.) ascribed to the master in the National Museum in Stockholm. It is executed in monochrome ink on paper, and the motif is here two gibbons climbing in a wu-t'ung tree. Splitted rocks and a tuft of bamboo fill the lower portion and the right side of the picture, the bamboos forming an effective dark background to bunches of large, light-coloured leaves, which are drawn as lightly as possible with admirable exactness and sensitiveness. The two gibbons, which may be said to fill the roles of the emotional parts in this dramatic motif, are evidently in a state of excitement or high tension. The one who is hanging on rope-like arms from two slender boughs at the top of the picture, seems to be ready to throw himself on the companion who is sitting on a dry branch lower down and looking upwards with glistening eyes (intensified with gold) and open mouth. Their positions, movements and expressions make it evident that they are both ready for a fight, which will ensue as soon as their movements find their natural release.

The pictorial effect of this composition, which depends on a scale of ink-tones ranging from deep black to almost transparent grey, suggests a vibration of light and shade, i.e. an atmosphere, which is no less important for the momentary mood than the tension in the elastic figures (PL219).

But this is true only of the upper half of the

picture, which is most enjoyable from a pictorial viewpoint, whereas the lower section, with the cliffs and the rivulet, the bamboos and part of the tree branches, has been muddled by the efforts of a restorer. Concentrating our attention on the upper half of the composition we may still observe here what Kuo Jo-hsü called "the heart of the leaves" in I Yüan-chi's paintings, by which he probably meant the supporting nerves stretching from the base to the tip of the leaves. They are drawn with a very sensitive hand that may be said to transmit the life-breath. In other words, while the upper parts of the picture may be said to transmit its original quality and artistic significance, this has been lost to a large degree in the lower portion of the painting.¹

Ma Fên (or Pên) was a bird-painter of some fame, whose name is attached to still existing pictures. He was active at the very end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century and served as *tai chao* in the Academy between 1109 and 1125. He may thus have witnessed the final collapse of the Northern Sung regime and the destruction of the capital by the Chin armies, but nothing is known about his fortunes after that date, i.e. whether he died or whether he saved himself like some of the other painters. We have no reason to assume that he continued his activity in the South, nor does he seem to have belonged to the circle of painters who were attached to the emperor Hui-tsung and influenced by his artistic ideals, which also gives us reasons for mentioning him here rather than in a later chapter.

He is said to have painted religious subjects as well as animals and birds and became particularly famous for his pictures of The Hundred Gibbons (like I Yüan-chi), The Hundred Horses, The Hundred Bulls, The Hundred Sheep, The Hundred Deer, and The Hundred Wild Geese, i.e. scroll-compositions rich in detail but nevertheless not confused.² A long handscroll in the National Museum in Peking representing Grazing Buffaloes (signed and dated 1095) is apparently one of these

pictures, but unfortunately there are no reproductions of the picture available. It may be remembered that the subject as such – Grazing Water-buffaloes – became very popular in the artistic circles in Hangchow, which gathered around Li T'ang and Li Ti.

There is a very attractive picture in the Honolulu Academy of Arts which represents A Hundred Wild Geese and bears the signature Ma Fên. It owes its attractiveness partly to the high quality of the brush-work, which is light, rapid and subtle, but equally to the design. The whole thing is like a virtuoso performance in tones of ink and rhythmic spacing by which the floating movements of the birds are expressed as swiftly and lightly as in nature. The long river and marshland together with the misty sky form a continuous background for the reeds and bending grasses that are swaying in the wind, and for a few stones and irregularities in the ground. All through this the birds form a wavy chain, sometimes in groups, sometimes in a thin string, soaring through the air, diving in the water, gathering in flocks on the shore, playing, fighting, and brooding – in an infinite variety of positions and combinations, accentuated by the swift touches of the brush. In the crescendo and diminuendo of the composition they gather, they scatter, they reflect the rhythm of the painter's thoughts (Pl.220).

The signature at the end of the scroll, which reads Ho-chung Ma Fên, is apparently not by the same hand as the painting, an observation which together with the fact that the scroll has no seal earlier than the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) has given cause to some discussions and doubts as to the date and

¹ There are some twenty owners' seals on the picture, the earliest reading *Yüan-hui*, which is the *tsü* of Chu Hsi (1130–1200). Another seal is that of the well-known painter Li Jih-hua (1565–1655), but most of the seals contain fancy names. I Yüan-chi's signature and seal may have been added in connexion with an early restoration; it reads: Ch'ang-sha Chu-chiao I Yüan-chi.

² Cf. *Hua-chi*, Chapt.VII, "Small Views and Miscellaneous Paintings". The same record is repeated in *T'u-hui pan-chien*, vol.III and elsewhere.

authenticity of the picture.¹ If the signature is a later addition (possibly of the Ming period), we have to fall back on stylistic criteria in our attempts to settle the date of the picture. These may be said to consist partly in the design, the spacing and composition of the successive scenes, and partly in the brush-work, the use of the ink in jets and lines, which reflect the painter's conception and temperament. It must be admitted that the picture is remarkably far developed along these lines, the spacing is excellent, the movement of the birds is very free and proceeding in various directions, the brush-work is light and spontaneous – suggesting wind and mist, movement and rest in many different stages. The picture seems in this respect somewhat further developed than the paintings by Ts'ui Po, or I Yüan-chi, or other contemporary painters, nor does it show any closer stylistic connexion with the kind of bird-painting that was practised in the Academy of the emperor Hui-tsung. It is distinguished by a subtle pictorial quality that hardly appears in Chinese ink-paintings before the end of the Sung or the Yüan period. A definite statement that it was painted about that time would be premature, since the material for comparison is so faulty, but it must be admitted that the stylistic criteria point to such a conclusion. The

actual date of execution is probably somewhat later than indicated in the signature, but it should, on the other hand, be remembered that the picture has for a long time – probably since the Ming period – been considered a work by Ma Fên. It is introduced at this place for traditional rather than stylistic reasons and because it is one of the most attractive bird-paintings of late Sung type still existing.

¹ Yukio Yashiro published this scroll in *Biijutsu Kenkyû*, No. 64, April 1937, describing it as "one of the most interesting pieces among Chinese paintings in the International Exhibition of Chinese Art held in London 1935-1936", and as "one of the most precious extant works of great Sung paintings". He accepts it as a genuine signed picture by Ma Fên, executed "in view of the somewhat archaic brush-work" in the reign of the emperor Hui-tsung (1101-1125), but points out in the next sentence that "the broad and light brush-work, which is especially noticeable in the rocks and ground of the picture, was most popular about a century later, that is to say towards the end of the South Sung". I sympathize in particular with the last remark.

Consequently it seems to me that Edgar C. Schenck, former Director of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, slightly overshot the mark when he, in *The Honolulu Academy of Arts Bulletin*, 1939, assigned the picture to the early part of the Ming period. He too points out that the picture has "many of the qualities of the Southern Sung style", but finds that they are "combined with new principles such as the use of light and mist, the larger unity in the various sections, the flights of the geese in the third dimension and the variety in the combination of the motifs". The observations are well taken, but the stylistic features pointed out in this critical analysis may also be found in pictures of the South Sung period.

The Emperor Hui-tsung as a Painter, and Some of His Predecessors and Followers

I

It HAS already been pointed out that the imperial house of Sung had a more immediate influence on the evolution of painting than any other ruling family in China, but it may be of interest to add here a few passing words about the merits of the various emperors with regard to this. Some of them were gifted as painters or calligraphists and most of them took an active part in the building up of the imperial collections. The key-note was struck already by the founder of the dynasty, T'ai-tsu, who, after the submission of the South T'ang and the Western Shu states, attached the best painters from these states to the imperial court of Sung. This was the first step in the reorganization of the so-called Academies of Painting (*Hua-yüan*) which had existed in Nanking and Ch'êng-tu.

The second emperor, T'ai-tsung (976-997), earned a great personal reputation as an excellent calligraphist, and he ordered that fine paintings and specimens of calligraphy should be brought together for the palace collection from all over the country. His successor, Chên-tsung (998-1022), was himself active as a painter; among his works are mentioned forty scrolls which he presented to the scholar Chung Fang, but nothing is said about their motifs or artistic merits.¹ When the Yü Ch'ing palace was built, painters were summoned from all over the country to decorate it.

Jên-tsung (1022-1063), the noblest and most virtuous of the Sung emperors, earned a considerable reputation as painter. Kuo Jo-hsiü writes in the third section of *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* that the

emperor was endowed by Heaven with an excellent understanding for painting, and when he wielded the brush he surpassed common men. Two pictures by the emperor are particularly mentioned, i.e. an imperial horse and a monkey; but according to other sources, Jên-tsung devoted his artistic talents most particularly to the painting of Buddhist subjects.

The following monarch, Shên-tsung (1068-1085), was perhaps less of an artist, but he made efforts to increase the imperial collection and secured all the pictures by Li Ch'êng that could be found anywhere in the country, because he considered that master as the foremost of all the painters of modern times. He built the Ching-ling Shrine and had it decorated by the best artists.

The final culmination of the imperial leadership and encouragement in the field of painting was, however, not reached until the time of Hui-tsung (1101-1125), whose importance in this respect will be discussed presently, but before we revert to this crowned artist a few words may be added about some other, partly older, members of the imperial family who, so to speak, prepared the soil for the great flowering of painting at the court in the time of Hui-tsung.

One of the earliest and most gifted among these painters was Li Wei, *tzü Kung-chao*, from Ch'ien-t'ang. He was not a prince by birth but had the good fortune to be received into the service of the emperor Jên-tsung at the age of thirteen. His exceptionally polite and agreeable manners won him the particular

¹ Cf. Yü Chien-hua, *Chung-kuo hui-hua shih*, vol. I, p. 164.

favour of the emperor, and he was allowed to marry one of the princesses. He became thus a member of the imperial family and had (as such) an important military career. This did not, however, prevent him from devoting much of his time to painting and calligraphy, but he did it as far as possible secretly; as soon as he had finished a picture, he destroyed it; he did not want anybody to know that he was occupying himself with painting. Consequently his pictures became very rare; only two of them found their way to the imperial collection, and one of these has been tentatively identified with a picture in the Boston Museum called *A Bamboo Grove with Pavilions*, an ink-painting, partly executed in the so-called *fei pai*¹ manner. The composition is very simple and with a tone of idyllic repose; the brush-work bespeaks the amateur rather than a trained painter. The picture shows no connexion whatsoever with the great masters of landscape and bamboo-painting who were active at the time.

Wang Shên, *tzŭ* Chin-ch'ing, was a man of the same social standing as Li Wei. He married the emperor Ying-tsung's daughter and lived for a while in an annex of the imperial palace, but served also as a military governor of Ting-chou. His main interest was, however, centred on the fine arts and the study of the Classics: "He sought the company of poor scholars and did not associate with wealthy idlers, nor did he indulge in sensual pleasures (music and women), but devoted himself consistently to painting and calligraphy."² We have already met him in the assembly of scholars and artists gathered around Su Shih and Li Kung-lin and represented by the latter in the famous painting known as *A Literary Meeting in the Western Garden*. According to the description, this took place in Wang Chin-ch'ing's garden, probably in the neighbourhood of his residence, where he also built a special storehouse for his art treasures called *Pao-hui t'ang*. It was filled with precious specimens of old and modern writings and paintings which served him as models. According to the biographer, "he used to place

landscapes by the old masters on the wall, and then he said: 'I am doing like Tsung Ping, who used to stroll about (enjoying the landscapes) while lying on his bed'. If he had not had mountains and valleys in his bosom, he could not have done it", to quote *Hsian-ho hua-pu*.

In his paintings he usually represented misty rivers and far-reaching valleys, with shady willows and fishermen working on the shores. But there were also steep cliffs with roaring torrents, deep forests, secluded spots, peach-trees by the stream and straw-covered cottages – "scenery difficult for a poet to describe".

Teng Ch'un wrote in *Hua-chi* about his manner of painting: "He followed Li Ch'êng's *ts'un-fa*, but used also gold and green colouring . . . His small landscapes were, however, painted with ink only and represented open views in accordance with the manner of Li Ch'êng. Therefore Su Tung-p'o said: 'Chin-ch'ing grasped the three secrets of the *p'o mo* (i.e. graded or broken ink) manner'."

The same characterization is repeated in *T'u-hui pao-chien* in still more explicit terms, viz.: "He followed Li Ch'êng in painting landscapes which were pure and lovely. He also did coloured landscapes in which he followed General Li of the T'ang dynasty. His style is neither ancient nor modern; he established his own school (style) as a landscapist; in his paintings of ink-bamboos he followed Wên T'ung."

If we may believe the above-quoted authorities Wang Chin-ch'ing was something of an eclectic as a painter and worked in at least two quite different manners, one derived from Li Chao-tao and the other from Li Ch'êng. There were so to speak two faces to his art as a landscape-painter, a fact also reflected in the various pictures preserved under his name. The most remarkable and probably most authentic among these is the small handscroll in the

¹ In the *fei pai* manner the ink-strokes are not filled out evenly but leave some empty white spots.

² Cf. extensive biographical notes about Wang Shên in *Hsian-ho hua-pu*, vol. 12, and also in *Hua-chi*, vol. II, "Princes and Noblemen", where also his manner of painting is characterized.

Ku-kung collection which is painted in the "blue and green manner" of Li Chao-tao and is said to be a record of the painter's dream.

It represents the abode of the Immortals in the form of a rocky shore rising over a wide bay; the mountain is strewn with pretty pavilions where minuscule figures are enjoying the pure air of the blue mountain paradise. The picture which has the refinement of a miniature is signed by the artist and dated 1124, while one of the three colophons completing the scroll is dated 1127.

The other mode or current of style which served as a guidance for Wang Chin-ch'ing as a landscape painter may be observed in the larger scroll known as *A Fisherman's Village in Snow*.¹ It is a rather broadly executed ink painting, pictorially effective though possibly inspired by some of Li Ch'eng's designs. It possesses such characteristic elements of the old master, as the dry and writhing trees, the fissured rocks rising in steep waves, and the drab and desolate air of a cold winter day and is indeed a very effective composition but whether it actually was executed by a master of the Sung period, is by no means clear from the reproduction (Pls. 222, 223).

It may also be of interest in this connexion to note that among the landscapes reproduced in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi* as anonymous works of the Sung period are some which may be said to illustrate the same kind of dependence on the Li Ch'eng tradition as is said to have been characteristic of Wang Chin-ch'ing. In the example here illustrated² the Li Ch'eng style is to some extent combined with elements of Kuo Hsi's more dramatic art, but if it were painted (as presumed) at the very beginning of the twelfth century, or later, it can certainly be said to illustrate the archaistic current of landscape-painting prevailing in official circles at the time and supported by gifted connoisseurs and gentleman-painters of Wang Chin-ch'ing's class.

Among the members or relatives of the imperial family who were active as painters towards the end of the eleventh century may be mentioned Chao Tsung-han, a younger brother to Ying-tsung, and

Chao Shih-tung, *tzū* Ming-fa, and the foremost among them all, Chao Ling-jang, best known under his *tzū* Ta-nien. They are all greatly praised, but no works by the two first-named have been preserved. Tsung-han is said to have specialized in painting geese. His pictures were admired even by a critic like Mi Fei, who wrote a poem on Tsung-han's picture of Eight Geese.

Shih-tung was a distinguished scholar and literary student, the only one among eight competitors who in the Yüan-fu era (1098-1100) was awarded the *chin shih* degree for artistic merits. His competence as a painter must have been of a high grade, if we may believe Ch'ên Shih-tao (Hou-shan), who in a poem placed him on a level with Chao Ling-jang. These two men were said to be the foremost artists at that time, but whereas Shih-tung nowadays is hardly more than a name, Chao Ling-jang can still be studied in some paintings and quite extensive biographical records, as for instance the following from *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*.

"Ling-jang, *tzū* Ta-nien, was a descendant in the fifth generation of T'ai-tsu. He grew up at the court surrounded by wealth and refinement, but was (nevertheless) able to devote himself to the study of the Classics and history and to entertain himself with brush and ink; he found the greatest pleasure in painting with colours. His collection of calligraphies and paintings contained famous specimens of the Chin and Liu Sung epochs as well as of later periods. Whenever he saw a work of art he at once grasped its wonderful qualities. Are not such occupations, even when of a modest kind, better than gambling, or (occupying oneself with) dogs and horses?

"His paintings offer wide views over low embankments and lakes, or represent shady groves in a misty atmosphere with ducks and geese; they have an air of quiet repose which is very pleasant and which has made them highly appreciated by connoisseurs. But the views of the embankments and the islets are always from the neighbourhood of the

¹ Reproduction in *The Great Heritages of Chinese Art*, vol. VII.

² Cf. *K'ü-kung shu-hua chi*, vol. XI.

capital. If he had taken his motifs from the beautiful districts of the rivers, the mountains and the lakes in the South, he might have become equal to the masters of the Chin and Liu Sung periods."

The appreciation of Chao Ling-jang's art at the court is also illustrated by the story about how he presented a fan-painting to Chê-tsung, on which the emperor wrote: *Kuo t'ai* - Glory of the Country.

The biography in *Hua-chi* contains the same general information supplemented with some notes regarding Chao Ling-jang's paintings, viz.: "His snow-scenes are of the same kind as Wang Wei's, his paintings of islets with water-birds have the atmosphere of rivers and lakes, and in his paintings of bamboo groves and hills he followed Su Tung-p'o . . . But if one observes his brush-work closely, one may notice a certain effeminate softness resulting from his love of excessive refinement in his early years. If he had added some boldness to his works they would have become more important, and his pictures would have been not inferior to those of the Little General Li . . .

"When Ta-nien had become famous he was beleaguered by people (asking for his pictures), so that he could find no leisure. He threw away his brush in distress and said: 'I am now a slave of art, and as I have become so well known, I see no longer any help for it.'"

This characterization of Chao Ling-jang's art with the somewhat dimmed criticism of his inclination to effeminate softness is more explicitly formulated in a colophon by Huang T'ing-chien (which must have been known to Têng Ch'un). He wrote:¹

"Ta-nien imitated Master Tung-p'o's hills and bamboo groves in a picture which is very attractive. Yet one cannot help feeling that his brush-work in the bamboos as well as in the stones is rather soft and effeminate, which may be due to the fact that in his early years he liked excessive refinement. If Ta-nien had been older he would certainly have done better, and if he could have rid himself of music, women, fur-coats and horses (i.e. all worldly attachments)

and had carried a hundred books in his bosom (i.e. possessed more literary culture), he would not have been inferior to Wên Yü-k'o."

Huang T'ing-chien, who after all was the best informed and balanced art-critic at the time, had evidently a sincere sympathy for Chao Ling-jang's sensitive landscapes; but he could not suppress a feeling that the painter hardly ever reached full maturity, partly due to the diverting responsibilities of his social position. Such is apparently the suggestion conveyed by his colophons on paintings by Ta-nien, as for instance the following:

"In his early years Ta-nien kept a good girl-dancer, called Chien Wa, in his house. Yet he was not infatuated with wine and music, but kept on playing with brush and ink. Nor did he sink too deep in (striving for) wealth and rank."

This rather favourable estimate of Ling-jang's artistic activity is balanced by another colophon with a more critical tinge, to wit:

"The view is far reaching, deserted and peaceful and in some respects quite satisfactory. But if one compares it with the old masters' works, it lacks strength and boldness and a lasting quality."

In a third colophon the critic admits that though Ta-nien in his early years was playing like a child (for which he should not be scolded), he finally "reached the fulfilment of his desires and stands as a competitor of the Little General Li". The last comparison was hardly meant to be interpreted literally, but it shows nevertheless that Huang felt that Chao Ta-nien grew to be an important master towards the end of his life.

According to this estimate the change in the painter's style must have become more marked with the years, and one may well ask whether any traces of this development are to be discovered in the pictures which pass under his name. Some of these can hardly be accepted as originals, yet they represent a uniform type of landscape which seems characteristic of the master. They are mostly hand-rolls of small size (or portions of such) representing

¹ Cf. *Tung-p'o shan-ku t'i-pu*.

views over open marshland where a river winds between low banks and solitary willows, or clumps of more robust leafy trees spreading their shade over thatched cottages. There are seldom any human figures, only ducks and geese which play along the shores, while long-drawn trails of vaporous mist are floating close to the ground between the trees. The light is subdued, the evening mood is deep and quiet; it matters little whether it is a chilly autumn day or a warm summer night; one can almost hear the silence in these pictures. It is evoked by "the low dwellings, the tranquil groves, and the far expanse of water in evening light, which make people who see these pictures feel as if they were travelling in Chiang-nan", to quote a colophon by Ta-nien's friend Wang Ting-kuei.

The best known examples of this type of landscape are some small paintings in private possession in Japan which apparently have formed parts of one or two handscrolls. The one in the former Hara collection in Sannotani is called *River Scene in Autumn*, because of the leafless willows which dominate the left side of the scene, while the spruces on the opposite side are enveloped by mist. White geese are playing in the shallow water, and some dark birds are circling above (Pl.225).

Closely related to this is a little picture, formerly in the Akaboshi collection and published in *Kokka*, No.224. It is said to illustrate T'ao Yüan-ming's *Kuei ch'ü lai* poem, but the little man on horseback is quite insignificant, and the title probably misleading. The artistic expression of the picture does not depend on any literary allusion but simply on the way in which the open space is balanced in relation to the withering leafage and the far extending low shore-line. It may possibly have formed part of the same scroll as the above-mentioned picture.

All these small pictures, of which there are several, may be said to illustrate the common saying: "A thousand *li* in a square foot of space". They are "perfect river-views painted with loving skill", to use the words of Mi Fei, and they reflect something of that soft and intimate mood which is said to have

been more characteristic of Chao Ta-nien's early work than of his later creations (Pl.227).

There are also some complete handscrolls which pass under the name of Chao Ling-jang. They represent the same kind of motifs as the small pictures mentioned above, i.e. views over low marshes and broad rivers with borders of nenuphars along muddy shores, and some solitary trees which rise in contrast to the wide horizontal expanse veiled by a light mist that evaporates in infinity. One of the best is the scroll (from the Manchu Household collection now in the possession of C. P. Huang at Taipei), which is dated 1100 and provided with a poem and colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (Pl.226).

Another is the picture in Mr. C. C. Wang's collection which represents *A Farmhouse by the River on an Autumn Morning*, when the geese are alighting. It has colophons by Chao Mêng-fu, Kung Hsiao and others. A third handscroll (or portion of a scroll), in the Fujii collection in Kyôto, represents T'ao Yüan-ming and a friend seated in an open pavilion in the midst of a chrysanthemum garden on a river shore. It is attractive owing to its idyllic charm and remarkable for its refined execution in a spotless *kung pi* manner which, however, bespeaks a skilful copyist rather than the master himself. Yet it is accompanied by encomiums signed by the emperor Kao-tsung, the scholar Chan T'ung-wên of the Yüan period and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and may be said to retain a considerable historical interest even if it cannot be accepted as an original.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang wrote colophons on several pictures by Chao Ta-nien in which he expressed his admiration for the master. This may seem surprising in view of the fact that the two men used quite different methods of painting: Chao Ling-jang was a typical traditionalist who followed in the footsteps of the two Li and Wang Wei, whereas Tung Ch'i-ch'ang was a representative of *Wên-jên hua*, i.e. the later form of literary men's painting. But this did not prevent Tung from expressing a high degree of admiration:

"One who carries the hills and valleys in his bosom

does not need to travel ten thousand *li* by boat, nor does he need to read ten thousand volumes of books. If one wishes to become a great creative painter, how could one attain to it in that way? It depends on one's own efforts, and one should not pay any attention to common critics."¹

This defence of Chao Ta-nien, based on love of his inborn genius, has a polemic note directed against earlier critics who blamed him for continuously repeating the same motifs and slighted his individual culture and creative ability. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang found a great deal of this in the works of Chao Ta-nien, who was capable of rendering "the hills and the valleys" – i.e. the ever-changing moods and charms of nature – without travelling far, because it was to him as to the literary painters of later times pre-eminently a matter of spiritual experience. The point of contact was to be found in a relative abstraction from the actual models of nature and a reliance on the creative imagination. This may have been no less important in the case of Chao Ta-nien than in that of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, though the former expressed it in a more subdued or restraining manner than the latter.

The influence of Chao Ling-jiang on his surrounding was no doubt due to his social standing and general culture as well as to his artistic skill. It may be traced in the works of some of the younger painters like Li An-chung and Liang Shih-min. An excellent example of this influence is the little picture in Mr. W. Hochstadter's collection, which is signed by Li An-chung and dated 1117. It represents the same kind of motif as so many of Chao Ling-jiang's paintings, i.e. a grove of leafy trees partly enveloped in mist on a low river shore and a small cottage among trees, and has more distinct qualities of form and design than most of Chao Ling-jiang's works (Pl.228).

Another painting which may be remembered in this connexion is the handscroll in Hui-hua kuan in Peking signed by Liang Shih-min. It represents a river view in winter and is distinguished by a very sensitive rendering in subdued tones of reeds along

snowy banks and ducks playing in grey water. The inscription is by the emperor Hui-tsung. Liang Shih-min is said to have started as a poet but showed great natural talent for painting; he did flowers and bamboos as well as landscapes, mainly for his own amusement while serving as governor of Chung-chou.

Most of the members of the imperial clan and the high officials who became known as skilful painters followed in the wake of Chao Ling-jiang, painting in a highly refined manner with colours. This was true of Chao Shih-lei, *tzü* Kung-chên, who painted "lovable small landscapes" and plum-blossoms; also of Chao Shih-tsun, the emperor's uncle, and of Chao Shih-jên, duke of Huai-i, and of the emperor's son, Prince Yün, who will be mentioned presently. But there were also men of more independent talent in this royal circle, for instance Chao Tzü-ch'eng and Chao Shih-an, who painted ink-bamboos in a free and bold manner after the fashion of Wên T'ung and Su Tung-p'o. Practically all these men devoted their talents to forms of painting which were developed to the highest degree of perfection by the members of the Academy under the direction of the emperor.

* * *

II

If we are to believe all that Chinese chroniclers have to tell about the emperor Hui-tsung as a painter and a patron of art, his place in history appears certainly unique. It would be difficult to find a monarch who to the same extent as this ruler on the Dragon Throne devoted his individual activities and the dominating influence of his supreme position to aesthetic pursuits and the encouragement of painting in particular.²

The most complete information regarding the emperor's occupation with the art of painting is not to be found in the official Sung history, but in the miscellaneous notes of Têng Ch'un in *Hua-chi* and

¹ *Shu-hua p'u*, vol.82.

² Cf. our Introduction to the Sung period.

in some remarks by T'ang Hou in *Hua chien*, not to mention later chronicles, such as *T'u-hui pao-chien*. The accounts of these authors may be somewhat coloured or exaggerated, yet there can be little doubt that they are based on tradition and actual information of men who had belonged to the academic circle or stood close to it. Têng Ch'un's chronicle was published in 1167, and must have been written not more than thirty years after the death of the imperial artist in captivity, while the memory of his wonderful collections and artistic establishments was still fresh, and his extraordinary personality was surrounded by a nimbus coloured not only by the brilliant lines of his artistic accomplishments but also by the tragic glow of his life in exile. These circumstances should be remembered if we are to understand the undertone of Têng Ch'un's biography, which is introduced with the following words:

"The emperor Hui-tsung was endowed by Heaven with the qualities of a Sage, and as an artist he attained divine perfection. Shortly after he had ascended the throne he was invited by some high officials to a banquet (for his enjoyment), but he excused himself saying: 'In my moments of leisure from the innumerable affairs of state I seek no other pleasure than painting.' One consequence of this, according to Têng Ch'un, was that the collection of pictures in the palace increased rapidly and "became a hundred times richer than under his predecessors". The author then adds a few remarks about the emperor's expert knowledge and certain peculiarities of his style which will be quoted in our discussion of his pictures. We shall then also have occasion to return to the descriptions that he offers of some of the most important works by the imperial artist, as for instance *Cranes by a Bamboo Cottage*, *Ducks in the Dragon Pool* and *The Abodes of the Immortals*. The last is described as a picture of such extraordinary brilliance and richness of detail that the whole thing seemed like a vision of fairyland or a dream-journey to the Taoist Elysium.

Time and again the emperor gave feasts, either in

the imperial park, which was full of marvellous animals and birds and rare plants and trees, or in a pavilion where specimens from his collection or of his own work were shown. One such occasion is described by Têng Ch'un in the following words: "In the fourth year of Hsüan-ho (1122) on a certain spring day the emperor withdrew from official business (after the usual visit to the Chancellory) and invited the prime minister, the hereditary princes and also subordinate ministers and officials to see the imperial collection. When they arrived the emperor rose to his feet and went to a writing-table; the guests stood all around watching him, while the servants took out the portfolios with the imperial calligraphies and paintings. The prime minister and each of the high officials received two scrolls of calligraphy and two of painting, whereas the minor officials received only one specimen of each kind."

A great mass of paintings must have been shown on this occasion, not only such as were executed by the imperial host, but also works by his ancestors and other earlier masters, because it was "seven o'clock in the morning when all the officials except the prime minister retired speedily". The animation (increased by a plentiful distribution of wine) ran very high: "The officials fought violently for the best things, even to the extent of tearing each other's girdles and caps, which made the emperor laugh."

Among Têng Ch'un's "Miscellaneous Notes" are also some relating to the extraordinary appreciation of the emperor's own paintings and to the way in which his collection was increased, to wit:

"Whenever, in the Chêng-ho epoch (1111-1118), the emperor made a painting on a fan, everybody in the palace of the empress and in the residences of the princes vied in copying it. Sometimes there were hundreds of copies of the same picture, and those who made the most successful copies tried usually to have them stamped with the imperial seal." (A habit which no doubt has contributed to the difficulty of deciding the compass of the emperor's own work.)

The easiest and quickest way of increasing the

imperial collection was by provoking unavoidable "gifts". Thus, for instance, when a certain painting by Chan Tzū-ch'ien was missing in the collection and it was found out that it belonged to an ancient family in Loyang, an imperial messenger was despatched there, and "when he saw the picture he appeared quite astonished and said: 'This is just the picture which is missing in the palace collection'; whereupon the owner immediately presented it to the emperor, in perfect accordance with the saying, 'when Heaven gives birth to a divine Sage, all things will finally come to him'." The Way of Heaven was in this case facilitated by the fact that the Divine Sage took more interest in his own collection of pictures than in the protection of the rights and property of his subjects.

Most of what Têng Ch'un has to tell about the emperor's occupations with painting is, however, centred around the Yü-hua yüan, the imperial Academy of Painting. As pointed out before, institutions known by this name had existed not only since the beginning of the Sung dynasty, but also at the court of the Posterior Shu dynasty in Ch'êng-tu and Southern T'ang dynasty in Nanking, and possibly elsewhere in earlier times. Their main purpose seems to have been to attach important painters to service at court for the purpose of recording important events and for decorating screens and walls, etc., not to mention their supervision of the imperial picture collections. In some cases these institutions may also have included some kind of artistic teaching or guidance, but we have no definite information about their functions in this respect until the time of Hui-tsung. The foremost members of the academies were honoured with the titles of *tai-chao* or *chih-hou*, which involved ranks or charges at court, corresponding to those of the chamberlains, or the officials in attendance on the emperor. But in the more fully organized academies in the Sung time there were also *i-hsüeh* and *hsüeh-shêng*, that is to say, teachers and students of art. The Hua-yüan became then a centre of art education as well.

This was apparently a practical reform of some importance in the organization of the Academy. Têng Ch'un is rather vague on the point, but Tzū Yü-tzū writes in *Ying-hsüeh ts'ung-shuo*¹ that "in the Chêng-ho era (1111-1117) the emperor Hui-tsung applied the methods of the T'ai-hsüeh to the education of painters and called in artists from everywhere to the examinations". Through these arrangements the Hua-yüan was placed under the same general regulations as the T'ai-hsüeh, or Han-lin, the great central college for official examinations; and as the same was done with the Shu-yüan and the Ch'in-yüan, the Academies of Literature and of Music, they all functioned as departments of the Han-lin.²

In other words, painters were selected and subjected to competitive examination as far as possible in conformity with a system in practice since olden times for the literary examinations, a fact also confirmed by Têng Ch'un who wrote that "the training (study) of the artists was like the examinations for the *chin-shih* degree; they had to acquire their degree by treating certain subjects which were determined by the emperor, who also nominated the professors who were to serve as judges".

These examinations or competitions were in the time of the emperor Hui-tsung the actual *nervus rerum* in the Academy of Painting, and as the way in which they were prepared and formulated is most significant of the aesthetic attitude of the emperor and the artists around him, we may add here some information on the subject based on the reports of Tzū Yü-tzū and Têng Ch'un.

The painters who gathered at the examinations were expected to represent or illustrate certain quotations selected by the emperor from old poems. One such poem was: "A Tavern in a Bamboo-grove by a Bridge". The painters did their very best to give

¹ Quoted in *Shu-hua p'u*, vol. 15, p. 24.

² Cf. A. G. Wenley, "A Note on the so-called Sung Academy of Painting", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1942, and Soper, *op. cit.* Note 210, p. 131, with references to some articles to which the author has not had access.

a careful representation of the tavern in the bamboo-grove and tried to render as much as possible of its form. But there was one clever painter who represented simply a pole sticking up over the bamboos by the bridge and carrying a signboard with the single character *Chiu*, "Wine". This made it evident that there was a tavern in the grove.

Another quotation was: "The scent of trampled flowers follows the hoofs of the returning horse." "As this could not be rendered in definite forms, how could it be made visible? There was an excellent painter who found a way of illustrating this marvel perfectly by painting a number of butterflies following the horse and fluttering around its hoofs. In this way he succeeded in representing the scent issuing from the hoofs of the horse. Both these painters came out at the top of the list."

"The selection of the candidates for the study of art (*i.e.* the Academy) was (based on) a selection of their ideas; the painters who had the most brilliant ideas were considered the best. It was just like the examination of the scholars, in which those who showed the most brilliant literary talent were classified as the best. Although the use of the brush is not the same in these two (examinations), yet success and failure are (in both) the result of knowledge or lack of knowledge."

It may not be necessary here to repeat more of the poetic quotations chosen as subjects for the competitions in the Academy; they were all of a similar kind, offering evidence of the fact that the relationship between literature and painting was strongly emphasized and that painting was to some extent placed under the tutelage of literature.

The order of precedence of the two arts was also expressed in other ways, for instance in the relative rank of the members of the two academies, which was described by Têng Ch'un as follows:

"When the *tai-chao* were arranged according to rank, those of the Shu-yüan came first and those of the Hua-yüan after. The members of the Ch'in-yüan and the various handicraftsmen, such as the makers of chess-pieces of jade, were all of inferior rank."

Their material benefits and special duties are also shortly indicated. "The members of Shu-yüan and Hua-yüan all received salaries, whereas the daily wages of the artisans of the other departments were called 'food money'." "A *tai chao* capable of doing miscellaneous paintings was on service every night in the Jui-ssü hall, to be ready to meet any unexpected call." And it should also be noted that "the members of Hua-yüan were not chosen simply because of their manner of painting but also with regard to their human qualities", a condition which implied agreeable manners and instant submission not only to the aesthetic opinions but also to the personal whims and wishes of the emperor.

If it were found that an artist was headstrong and "worked in a careless or independent manner", it was said that he "was not in agreement with the rules", and he was sent away. Because, writes Têng Ch'un, "the thing which at that time was particularly estimated was formal likeness", a statement which he illustrates with a number of more or less well-known anecdotes, which are too long to be repeated here. It may simply be recalled that one refers to the painting of a peacock climbing onto a mound in the palace garden, and another to the proper representation of monthly roses, which change according to the hours of the day.

The formal likeness required was, however, not simply a faithful reproduction of the outward appearance of things, it had also to carry a suggestion, an idea, as explained above, and make the beholder feel or sense the inner significance or meaning of the scene or the thing represented.

Têng Ch'un is certainly not making an overstatement when he writes that "the artists of the time exerted themselves to the utmost in order to comply with the emperor's ideas. The paintings made in the Pao-lu kung (The Palace of Taoist Scriptures) were all executed by members of the Hua-yüan. The emperor went there quite often; and whenever a painting did not correspond to his ideas, he had it plastered over and gave the painter some new advice. But in spite of all the instruction and

supervision by the emperor, many things done by these artists were weak and worthless, because they had not as yet completely freed themselves from the common and vulgar manners of painting."

T'eng Ch'un's obsequious description of the emperor as a divine sage in matters of art and a supreme genius in painting, inspired by Heaven and the masters of antiquity, leaves us with the impression of something superhuman – impossible to seize and characterize in common words – rather than of an individual master struggling to find expression in certain forms of painting. Whatever he painted was, according to the biographer, perfect, containing "all the Six Principles of Painting", and of the same class as the masterpieces of antiquity. And from the further descriptions it appears that the emperor must have produced a very large number of paintings, particularly of minor size representing flowers, birds and animals.

The general information is repeated by T'ang Hou in *Ku-chin hua-chien*, who, however, considers the situation from a longer distance with a more critical eye (he wrote at the beginning of the fourteenth century). He places the emperor's pictures in two different classes, the "wonderful" and the "divine", to wit: "He made pictures of flowers, birds, mountains, stones and human figures which were of the wonderful class; but some of his ink-paintings of flowers and stones may even be placed in the divine class. Among all the imperial painters of former times Hui-tsung was indeed the supreme master." In the continuation T'ang Hou refers to the organization of the Academy and offers the valuable information that the academicians used to make copies of the emperor's paintings and sometimes as a favour of the divine painter obtained his seals and signature on their most successful copies. The critic adds, it is true, the assurance: "I can recognize the works by Hui-tsung at a glance", but gives no hint about the kind of distinctive features that he considered most characteristic of the emperor's own works; we are left to solve this puzzle by ourselves.

T'u-hui pao-chien by Hsia Wên-yen, which was published about thirty-five years after T'ang Hou's treatise, contains nothing new in the way of a closer definition of the emperor's art, but it gives a condensed synopsis of the emperor's artistic activity in which the coloured paintings are praised no less than the ink-paintings. To quote:

"His coloured paintings were heavenly things executed according to the manners of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. But he was particularly good in painting flowers and stones in ink, and when doing bamboos in ink he made them neat and fine with no difference of light and dark but all in a unified tone of scorched ink (*ch'iao mo*). They stood close together, yet between them was some slight space. He made his own style and did not follow in the footsteps of the old masters. He took special interest in flowers and birds and added to their eyes pupils of black varnish, large as beans, which stood out in relief and seemed to be moving. To the signatures on his paintings he added three small seals: *T'ien-shui*, *hsüan-ho*, and *Ch'eng-ho*, but for his writings he sometimes used the gourd-shaped seal."

Judging from the above descriptions by Sung and Yüan critics, the emperor worked with equal success in colours and in a monochrome ink-manner. In using the former technique he followed early, pre-Sung traditions and worked probably in the so-called *mo ku* style (without outlines) of Huang Ch'ü-ts'ai, whereas his ink-paintings of flowers, stones and bamboo were done in a unified tone of scorched ink, which may have made them more akin to the works by the gentleman-painters, and they were evidently most appreciated by the critics.¹

If we are looking for more detailed information about the motifs and the compositions of the emperor's pictures, we find some in T'eng Ch'un's descriptions, though in an exceedingly hyperbolic, not to say fantastic, formulation. In describing the "strange beauty of the Scattered Peaks" (i.e. the

¹ Cf. "The Problem of Hui-tsung", by Benjamin Rowland, in *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, V, 1951.

Abode of the Immortals) he writes that every square foot opened a vista of a thousand miles, the clear peaks were piled up in abundance, they were all parts of the Jade Mountain in the land of the Immortals (*Lang-feng*). The luminous clouds were spread out and multicoloured like the Milky Way. The lofty buildings in which the Immortals dwelt reached up to the sky. A bright atmosphere of happiness and good fortune filled the immense space and aroused in the spectator a desire to stride across the wide expanse and to move upward freely and easily like the whirlwind, quite unfettered by (ties of) the human world.

The same picture is mentioned by T'ang Hou as *A Dream Journey to the Land of the Immortals*, and he says that it aroused in the onlooker the desire to start on a spirit journey to the most distant regions of the universe and made him lose all interest in things of this human world.

The picture must indeed have been something quite extraordinary with its atmosphere of empyrean beauty, its innumerable details of figures, birds, animals and buildings, its heaped up peaks and luminous clouds, but whether the descriptions are based on actual observations or simply on hearsay is not so easy to decide. No copy of it has, to our knowledge, survived, nor any picture by the emperor or from his circle that could be said to represent the same trend of thought.

The other pictures described by Têng Ch'un are less fantastic. One of them represented Cranes Alighting near a Bamboo Cottage, and was considered remarkable because the cranes were depicted in at least twenty different positions, stretching their necks and crying to Heaven (thus expressing their thoughts), or cleansing their feathers in the clear spring; some were standing in pairs but not quarrelling, others walking along quietly... no two of them were alike.

Another famous picture of water-birds was called *Ducks in the Dragon Pool* (*Lung-hsiang*). This picture was shown at the official reception in the Ch'ung-ling Park in 1105 and was greatly admired

by the invited guests, "who stood around looking respectfully at the imperial writing and painting". The motif returns, more or less completely represented, in one or two of the pictures which are attributed to the emperor Hui-tsung, which does not prove that any of these pictures are by himself, simply that such motifs, i.e. ducks, swans, herons, etc. were popular in the circle of the imperial painter.

Têng Ch'un gives a condensed account of the emperor's passion for strange animals, birds and flowers which were introduced into the palace garden from various parts of the realm and foreign countries and then gradually depicted in series of albums. This zoological and botanical interest of the emperor had evidently a considerable influence on the activity at the Academy of Painting, and may consequently be reported in accordance with Têng Ch'un's presentation of the matter:

"During the long period of prosperity and peace, many auspicious things which bring good luck came in day after day, and they were all noted down by the recorders.

"Among the birds and animals there were the red crow, the white magpie, the heavenly deer, and the Java sparrow. They were all kept in the palace garden. Among the trees and plants were many kinds of junipers and purple fungi, peal-lilies and gold-oranges, double bamboos, melon-flowers, and Lien-chin trees; they were all extraordinary, they had branches interlocking and their stems growing together; there were more of them than can be enumerated. The emperor selected fifteen of the most extraordinary specimens and painted them in colours in an album, which was called *Hsuan-ho jui-lan ts'ê*.

"There were furthermore the scented jasmine and the Indian *Sala* flowers, both products of foreign countries. He made inquiries into their place of origin and examined their nature thoroughly. Then he described them in poems and made pictures of them which formed a second album. Then he made pictures (and poems) of a third selection, including the purple jade-fungus, which flourished abundantly

in the inner courts of the palace, the violet bamboo with the sweet dew of the night, the white crow and the red hare, the parrots, the snow geese (swans), and the pheasants with their long trailing tail-feathers, the young phoenixes with feathers shining like jade, the tortoises with glittering eyes and the seven stars of the Dipper on their backs (which live among the lotuses); furthermore stones shaped like coiling dragons and soaring phoenixes (auguring longevity), and plantains growing into a common stem with double leaves and intertwined branches; thus making up a third volume of fifteen.

"Then he painted one by one all the pure white animals and birds in the garden, and these (pictures) formed the fourth volume. He kept on adding paintings until he had made thousands of albums, and to each of these he asked the courtiers to add some *t'i-pas*. Really they were the most beautiful things of ancient and modern times."

The most surprising parts of this account are not the descriptive names of the various animals, birds and plants, but their numbers, and the statement that all of them were recorded and depicted in albums which grew into a very large number (nominally "thousands"). And all these were apparently done in the Hsüan-ho era, which lasted only for about six years. No single painter, still less a busy emperor, could possibly have accomplished it all within the span of a few years. Consequently it seems most natural to assume that a number of painters co-operated in producing all these coloured album-paintings, naturally all working under the immediate supervision of the emperor, who visited the painters' studios or workshops very frequently and put his signature and seals on the pictures that pleased him. The painters who worked for him were no doubt of various grades, and to what extent they were superior or inferior artists in comparison with the emperor is nowadays difficult to decide.

If we also recall the statement that when the emperor had made a picture, it was at once copied eagerly by painters (or courtiers) in his surrounding, all vying to obtain his signature on their

copies, it must be admitted that the problem regarding the imperial master's individual *œuvre* is rather entangled. The excessive praise of the old critics can evidently not be accepted literally or serve as a safe guide through the tangle, nor are the signatures and seals of decisive importance because, as explained above, they were sometimes used as signs of approval or recommendation rather than as testimonies of authenticity. The same is probably true of some of the *t'i-pas*, or poems written by the emperor, because even when they are perfectly genuine, they do not prove that the pictures as well were executed by the imperial brush.

Considering all the above-mentioned points, it seems that the classification of the fairly numerous pictures ascribed to the emperor, and mostly provided with his signature, can only be made tentatively; but even if it can be nothing more than a working hypothesis, it may prove useful until some better theory can be formed.

The main difficulty in any attempt to segregate the emperor's individual works from those of his assistants and imitators, is caused by the Chinese historians who in their eagerness to lift the Son of Heaven to a supreme position also in the world of art, have represented him as the greatest painter of the age, superior to all the other contemporary painters. This has formed so to speak the starting-point for practically all later appreciations of the imperial artist. But the grounds on which they base their claims can hardly be called convincing, particularly as not one of those fine compositions described by T'eng Ch'un has been preserved. One cannot but wonder whether the old writers exaggerate as freely in describing the quality of the paintings as they do in indicating the quantity of the emperor's production. How could he have painted "thousands" of album-leaves representing animals, birds, and flowers besides a number of large compositions? And is it not likely that some of the highly trained academicians were able to do this kind of painting at least as well as or even better than the emperor? These and other questions of the same

kind must be left open, or answered only hypothetically as long as safe starting points are missing. We must limit ourselves to a short presentation of a few pictures which because of their signatures, inscriptions or other historical reasons are connected with the emperor Hui-tsung's artistic circle, with the end in view to detect some individual features that might warrant our placing them in a special group.

The inscriptions on the pictures must indeed be of some importance in this respect, because the emperor's handwriting was not as freely copied as his paintings, yet it seems evident that he also wrote poems or encomiums on paintings executed by artists in his surrounding, and put his signature on paintings in whose execution he had taken very slight, if any share.

Most of these paintings are executed in colour on silk, some of them with slight outlines, others practically without any ink-drawing, in a kind of *mo ku* technique. This group may consequently be considered first before we turn to the relatively few ink-paintings with the emperor's signature. The larger compositions are as a rule very decorative and remarkable for their technical perfection. Typical examples of this kind are found in the Ku-kung collection and in Hui-hua kuan in Peking. A picture in the former collection represents Twelve Scholars of the Sung Dynasty Gathered at a Festival Occasion in a Garden,¹ while the picture in Peking shows A Scholar Seated under a Tree Playing the *Ch'in* to Two Visitors, also a garden scene, though less elaborate. Both pictures are fully signed and provided with the emperor's seals, and they have furthermore inscriptions by the notorious minister Ts'ai Ching which give us reason to assign them to a relatively late period. To describe them in detail seems hardly necessary; they are academic examples of a kind that in later times were produced by Ch'iu Ying and his competitors – though according to the most refined taste and manners of the Sung period.

Another picture from the old Palace Collection now exhibited in Hui-hua kuan represents a long-tailed, multi-coloured pheasant perched on the branch of a blossoming hibiscus shrub. The bird and one of the branches form opposing diagonals, thus emphasizing the structure of the design, whereas the fleeting waft of the moment, the life-breath, is suggested by two fluttering butterflies which have attracted the bird's attention (Pl.230). The decorative beauty is muffled by the poor preservation of the picture, but the poetic inscription and signature are in the emperor's handwriting.

There are quite a number of minor bird and flower paintings ascribed to the emperor in Chinese and Japanese collections, but most of them are not on the same artistic level as this pheasant painting. Only a few of the most popular album-leaves and scrolls can here be mentioned.

The best among the three or four album-leaves formerly in the Manchu Household collection and reproduced in *Ch'ing-kung ts'ang* is the picture of A White Paraquet on the Branch of a Blossoming Apricot-Tree. It has a large Hsüan-ho seal and a gourd-shaped one with the imperial signature, *Yü chih*. The design is perfectly balanced and the position of the bird very characteristic, but the colour reproduction is too crude for closer observations (Pl.231).

The motif is repeated in a more extended version in the handscroll now in Boston, formerly in the Yamamoto collection (Pl.239). The paroquet is here smaller and the branches of the blossoming apricot-tree further extended. The richly coloured bird is shown in side view without the turning posture of the preceding example and the blossoming tree-branches are more in evidence. The painting occupies only about half of the scroll, the other half is covered by a description of the motif in a poem and one as well in prose, both in the genuine handwriting of the emperor. The bird is described in them as a lovable guest in the garden, a visitor from the South. The signature which follows after

¹ K.-k. *Shu-hua chi*, vol.XVII.

the inscription is now incomplete; it may originally have contained six characters, but of these only two are now legible; the others have been erased, and one may indeed wonder about the cause for this alteration. The two seals are those of the emperor Wên-tsung (1328-1330) of the Yüan dynasty and of Ch'ien-lung. Judging by the beautiful inscription, the picture seems to have been done on the order of the emperor to commemorate the visit of this colourful bird to the palace garden (cf. Pl.238).

The two most popular paintings ascribed to Hui-tsung in Japan since olden times are the short handscroll in the Asano collection representing A Quail and a Narcissus Plant and the album-leaf with A Dove on the Branch of a Blossoming Peach tree in the Inouye collection. The latter is still accepted as authentic works by the emperor, whereas the former, which is provided with a large painted seal, has been relegated by modern critics to an inferior class. This picture has probably formed part of a longer composition, because the narcissus plant is quite arbitrarily cut off, so that only a few leaves and two flowers reach into the picture. The quail is standing motionless on the bare earth; it is a solid heavy bird and its large feet are pressing hard on the ground. The large seal at the opposite end of the rectangular space may have been added with the intention of balancing the bird, though it has no weight. The painting of the white-spotted dark wings and head of the quail has almost metallic lustre, whereas the feathers on the chest have a more downy appearance, though outlined in detail. The meticulous execution is, however, less striking in the original than in reproductions, owing to the soft greyish tone of the paper (Pl.238). It is one of those neutral specimens of technical perfection in which the individual element is difficult to detect.

The Dove on the Branch of a Blossoming Peach-tree in the Inouye collection is distinguished by similar qualities of formal perfection. The bird is here larger in relation to the picture field and represented in full side view framed by two slender branches of a peach-tree in bloom.

There is not the slightest suggestion of movement either in the bird or in the tree; the artist has concentrated his attention on the "constant form", not in the momentary expression. The picture is done according to the *mo-ku* technique without ink outlines, mainly by gradations of tone in various colours which are melted together. The head is light blue, the chest green changing into white lower down, the feathers on the back blue-green, whereas the wings and the tail change from grey into black. Each part is carefully defined, and the brush-strokes are most obvious where the feathers should be clearly distinguished, yet the surface as a whole has the characteristically smooth, almost glossy unity also observed in the preceding example.

The large imperial seal with the superimposed elegantly written characters *Ta-kuan ting-hai yü-pi*, according to which the picture was executed in 1107, when the emperor was a young man of twenty-six, balances the pictorial composition beautifully and is generally accepted as evidence for the traditional attribution (Pl.237).

It is a picture which for its spotless purity and technical perfection might be compared - *mutatis mutandis* - with some of Raphael's early Madonnas.

Other album leaves in Japanese possession ascribed to the emperor (for instance in the Nezu collection) fall far below the standard of the last-mentioned picture and do not need to detain us in this connexion. We will instead turn our attention to another group of so-called Hui-tsung paintings which are done mainly in ink and thus afford a better opportunity to observe the actual brush-work.

A kind of transition between the pictures which we have been studying and the pure ink-paintings is formed by a small picture ($2\frac{1}{2}' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'$) reproduced in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi*, vol.XLV, which represents two small birds on the branch of a bare wax-tree (*Ligustrum lucidum*) bursting in blossom, and two lilies at the root of it. The slender trunk rises in a prolonged S-curve to the very top of the picture and sends out a few tiny branches with white blossoms but no leaves. The two birds are weighing

heavily on the main branch, which is bending down and consequently will swing upwards when the birds take flight, producing thus an impression of a potential movement not yet released. The artist seems to have had something like that in mind; suggesting it by the light and rapid brush-strokes of the spacious design. The tree is painted mainly in ink but there are some tints in the lilies, the blossoms of the tree, and the birds. The imperial signature and the poem are written in the proper manner of Hui-tsung, whereas the large seals at the upper part of the picture are those of the emperor Wên-tsung (1328-1330), previously mentioned (Pl. 234).

A somewhat similar brush-work, though in ink only, on paper, and thus more reminiscent of writing may be observed in a hand-scroll (in private possession in Hongkong) which is composed of four rectangular leaves, each of them representing small long-tailed birds. In three instances the birds are in pairs and perched on the slender branches of blossoming fruit trees, in the fourth leaf the bird is alone and balancing on a very thin bamboo branch.

The pictures are all provided with numerous seals of the Hsüan-ho and later periods and also with poems by Ch'ien-lung. The imperial signature is on the last picture, and after this follows an inscription dated 1242, in which the picture is described as a work by the emperor and of the highest class. These four leaves are mentioned in the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* and decidedly superior in quality to the twelve somewhat similar bird studies (mounted on a scroll) in the Fujii collection in Kyōto, which also are traditionally ascribed to Hui-tsung.

The artistic significance or appeal of these small pictures is closely connected with their apparent simplicity and spontaneity. They are by no means pictorial masterpieces, but simply studies of bird-life written down in a strictly controlled yet freely flowing manner. The attenuated brush-strokes produce an impression of super-refinement paired with elastic strength, i.e. features which also may be said to characterize the calligraphic manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. This correspondence or

parallelism may not be sufficiently obvious to serve as an argument, but it merits to be observed as a stylistic support for the attribution of these small pictures (Pls. 235, 236). They represent an individual temperament and a style quite different from the manner to be observed in the afore-mentioned coloured paintings; they are not examples of academic skill and technical perfection but rather works by a gifted amateur who may have been more trained as a calligraphist than as a painter – a conclusion which, however (as stated in our introduction), is hypothetical rather than confirmative in a final sense.

Another short handscroll (formerly in the Moriya collection in Kyōto) likewise representing two small birds on bamboo branches, has also the seal and signature of the emperor. It is painted in ink with some green colour (in the bamboo branches), and distinguished by a certain refinement, but obviously not executed by the same artist as the four paintings described above.¹

Something of the same swing or freedom in the brush-work may be observed in a handscroll in the Ku-kung collection which is known under the title *Autumn Evening by the Lake* (*Ch'ih-t'ang di'u-wan t'u*), though it is a more complete pictorial composition than the small bird studies.² This scroll has been accepted as the emperor Hui-tsung's work at least since the South Sung period and was also much admired as such at the exhibition in London (1935-1936). According to the earliest of the colophons, the picture was well known in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162) and it is again praised in a second colophon dated 1177, not to mention Ch'ien-lung's poems (Pls. 232, 233). The design consists of a white heron and two ducks in combination with some very large tattered lotus leaves, some seaweeds and polygonum plants. These elements are spread out very spaciouly over exquisite paper, with impressed ornaments; the intervals between them are so wide that the formal unity of the

¹ Cf. *Kohka*, No. 644.

² Published in a scroll-reproduction by the Palace Museum, 1934.

design is almost lost, yet there is a kind of sweep or breath of life that keeps it all together; it is felt in the swaying of the tall reeds and large leaves on slender stalks as well as in the flight of the duck and the curving movement of the white bird which is enveloped by or set-off against the large lotus leaf. The picture is no longer in the best state of preservation, the ink is toned down or rubbed off in spots, but it is uncommonly attractive through its airiness, its suggestion of the moisty atmosphere at the lake shore where the water-birds play on an autumn eve. It is not possible to ascribe it to the emperor simply on stylistic grounds or to claim that it was painted by the same man as the small birds, yet it seems possible. They are all works of the kind of refinement that is more characteristic of prominent amateurs than of professional artists.

The hanging scroll, formerly in the P'ang Yüan-chi collection (and likewise exhibited in London 1935-1936), which represents A Branch of a Pine-tree and Three Fighting Mynah Birds, may also be mentioned here as an ink-picture with the emperor's seal and signature, though it is difficult to detect any stylistic relation between this and the preceding picture. Neither the motif, such as the fighting mynahs, nor the brush-work, which in spots seems rather fluffy, leads our thoughts to the carefully polished products of the Hui-tsung academy; it is more in keeping with the technical methods of the South Sung period. But the picture bears the imperial seal and signature beside inscriptions by Ch'ien-lung and later men.¹

Here should also be recalled a handscroll, now on exhibition in the Museum in Shanghai, which represents Four Magpies in a Bare Willow and Four Ducks at the Edge of Water under some Bamboos, a motif characteristic of the emperor's circle, as testified by such titles as Water-birds in the Lung-hsing Pool and Autumn Evening by the Lake. The composition may also be said to be in accordance with the academic principles, but the execution is certainly later and has the stamp of a copy, a point emphasized in the crude colour reproduction by

which the picture has been made widely known. It has a number of large imperial seals but also a minor seal of the well-known collector Liang Ch'ing-piao.

The landscapes ascribed to Hui-tsung are not as numerous as the pictures of birds and plants and trees, but still more difficult to determine critically, because they are done in more or less close adherence to earlier models and without much insistence on individual accents. This is evident of the long handscroll called Returning Fishing-boats on a Snowy River. The grand design may have been borrowed from Kuo Chung-shu, Li Ch'êng or Hsü Tao-ning; it consists of deeply folded mountain ridges rising and falling in waves, intersected by deep bays and open stretches of water. The mountains are set off by light snow, but the water is cold and colourless. The whole thing is kept in a scale of rather drab harmonies of greyish tones and the execution is meticulously careful. The picture has the gourd-shaped seal and the signature of the emperor and is followed by several colophons, the first signed by Ts'ai Ching and dated 1110, the two following ones by such prominent connoisseurs as Wang Shih-chêng and Tung Ch'î-ch'ang. The present whereabouts of the picture is not known. Whether the facsimile reproduction published some twenty years ago by the Hakubundo Co. was made from the original or from a copy is hard to tell, but it gives the impression of a somewhat archaistic picture of the Sung period, which indeed – *a priori* – might have been painted by the emperor.²

A more distinct individual style may be observed in the famous hanging scroll in the Ku-kung collection (measuring $3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) known under the descriptive title Mountains and Streams in Autumn Mist, which also is provided with the gourd-shaped seal and imperial signature, beside a poem by Ch'ien-lung. It is executed mainly in ink, though with a slight addition of colour, and in a more pictorial manner with richer ink and softer brush than the

¹ Cf. *Chung-kuo*, vol. I, 45, London Exhibition Catalogue, 1125.

² A later exact copy of the scroll is in the Ada S. Moore collection at the Yale University.

above-mentioned scroll. The composition may have been inspired by some early landscapes of the Ching Hao or Kuan T'ung type, but if such impressions have meant something to the painter, he has transformed them freely. His main concern seems to have been to create an impression of unlimited space filled by misty atmosphere that sweeps around the peaks and forms a transparent velum above the tree tops, and very effectively supported by the open stretch of water in the foreground and the zig-zag course of the stream that comes out of an unseen region beyond the mist. The leafy trees which blend and gleam in the moisty air add the deepest tones to the pictorial effect. Details such as the fishermen in their boats and the man walking out on the promontory where some boats are moored, are introduced with the utmost care and serve to emphasize the human reaction to this highly poetic interpretation of autumn mist over plains and mountains (Pl. 240). As such it may be said to correspond to the emperor's approach to nature as an opening leading into the dream-world of Immortals, but whether he actually was capable of a work of this quality and significance, must remain an open question. The picture may well be admitted as an important product of the emperor Hui-tsung's academic circle, archaistically oriented, yet with more of a pictorial character than the other pictures discussed in this chapter.¹

Like most of the above-mentioned paintings, this landscape may thus be accepted as a work of the time and presumably in keeping with such principles of style as were favoured in the imperial academy; but there are others, no less famous landscapes, likewise ascribed to this circle which illustrate an entirely different style.

From a stylistic viewpoint they might be reserved for a later chapter; but I prefer to mention them here not only because of their traditional attribution to Hui-tsung but also because they retain elements of style which belong to the North Sung period. The actual reason for their attribution to the emperor is unknown, but it seems to date from the

time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) when they were brought to Japan. The pictures originally formed a series illustrating the four seasons, but one of them, Spring, has been lost; the picture of Summer belongs to the Kuonji temple in Yamashiro, while the Winter and Autumn views belong to Konchi-in in Kyōto and are the best known and most frequently shown of this set (Pls. 241-243).

The compositions are built according to the so-called "unilateral" pattern which became popular in the Hangzhou academy. The picture of Autumn shows a mountain slope rising diagonally in two stages and a knotty old tree stretching right out from the mountain. The philosopher at the root of the tree is leaning against the trunk, looking out over the infinite space above and below. The picture of Summer represents a violent rainstorm; the wind is shaking the pines in mountain fissures, and water is pouring down in streams over rocky ground where a man with a tall staff is battling against the raging elements.²

In the picture of Winter nature is frozen and grey; mist covers the upper portion of the huge boulders piled up along the one side of the picture and light snow edges their shapes and the green bamboos. A tall wanderer in a long coat and dark hood is standing on the terrace close to the precipice; he turns inwards, looking into the bottomless grey space as if vainly searching for a goal in the chilly mist, while a little monkey is crying in the tree above.

The conceptions of these pictures may indeed be said to reflect the kind of romanticism, or literary inspiration, that formed an undercurrent in the artistic activities at Hui-tsung's Academy, but the

¹ The somewhat simplified version of this landscape in the Abe collection in the Ōsaka Museum is a much later product, not an exact copy, though apparently done with the intention of imitating the Hui-tsung picture.

² This picture has sometimes been attributed to the painter Hu Chih-fu, whose name is unrecorded in Chinese books but mentioned in *Kandakun Sayūchōkei*. The pictures attributed to him in some Japanese collections represent lightly sketched Taoist and Buddhist figures of the kind that was popular among the Ch'an monks at the end of Song and beginning of the Yüan period. These paintings do not show any stylistic affinity with the Summer landscape in Kuonji.

figures are surprisingly large and prominent. They are rendered with more distinctness in tone and outline than corresponding elements in Ma Yüan's or Hsia Kuei's pictures. The same is true of other details such as the tall bamboos with clusters of sharply outlined leaves and the knotty branches of the overhanging tree. Such details are also accentuated with colour – for instance the bamboo leaves – and stand out in contrast to the broadly painted mountain slopes or rocks on which white colour has been used in addition to the ink-washes. This lack of unity in the brush-work or discrepancy in the execution of various details is by no means disturbing or unpleasant, but quite unlike the methods of the Southern Sung academicians. It may be said to represent a preparatory stage rather than the final attainment of the kind of unilateral landscape design which was brought to perfection by the masters of the Ma-Hsia school, consequently I am inclined to place these so-called Hui-tsung landscapes at the very end of the Northern Sung period, though they have very little, if anything, in common with the emperor's personal style.

Our presentation of Hui-tsung as a painter could easily be enlarged, but whether it would become clearer or more definite through the inclusion of a few more attributed paintings seems very doubtful. We have left them out so as to avoid too many lengthy descriptions of relatively indifferent pictures.

In discussing a selected number of so-called Hui-tsung paintings one of our main objects in view was to take note of such features of style as may serve as evidence for placing them either in the general undifferentiated group of "Academy paintings" or in a more restricted individual group that might possibly be ascribed to the emperor. The line between these two groups is, however, not always very distinct and cannot be said to follow degrees of quality or the testimony of signatures and inscriptions. Proceeding with caution we have included only three, or possibly four, specimens in the individual nucleus, but it should be remembered that, while some of the pictures in the "Academy

group" are no less characteristic examples of the stylistic ideals introduced by the emperor, the individual touch seems less evident in their execution. The emperor's dominating importance in the field of painting was, as we have seen, by no means based simply on what he did himself as a painter, but also on what he directed others to do along similar lines. The painter Hui-tsung and his imperial Academy are, so to speak, two aspects of the same centre of creative activity and may thus, to us who are no longer in a position to strictly outline the artistic personalities either of the emperor or of his assistants, be accepted as a comprehensive manifestation through which the aesthetic culture of the Northern Sung period found expression.

III

A closer discussion of the fairly numerous paintings by known or unknown masters which may be classified as products of the Hui-tsung school or following could easily grow into a chapter that would require more space and illustrations than here can be afforded. We must limit ourselves to a few remarks about some recorded painters in addition to those already mentioned in the previous pages. And we shall also have occasion to notice in our study of the Southern Sung bird and flower-painters that the influence of the Hui-tsung Academy lasted long after the halcyon days of this institution had come to a close.

One of the most gifted and for personal reasons most intimate followers of the emperor was his second son, known as Prince Yün who, according to T'ang Hou, "could paint flowers and birds which were quite like the works of the emperor; his flowers in ink were of the skilful class".

"I have seen a scroll", writes T'ang Hou, "on the back of which was written the date, etc. and the following remark by Hui-tsung: 'After examining the present painting, it seems to me that you have made some progress, but your use of the ink shows some lack of life-movement. You must pay more attention to it in your future work.'"; to which

T'ang Hou adds: "From this we may know how much the princes at that time were devoted to painting" – knowledge, however, which is rather halting as long as no works by the princes have been identified.

The most famous of the immediate followers of the emperor in the field of bird and flower-painting were Li An-chung, Li Ti and Li Tuan. They were all prominent members of the Academy in K'ai-feng and belonged to the artistic circle which gathered again after the re-establishment of this institution in Hangchou. There they worked for many years and were honoured by the emperor Kao-tsung with the Golden Girdle. Li An-chung and Li Ti served for some time as assistant directors of the Academy.

The first-named was the oldest and he remained most faithful to the artistic traditions of the Hui-tsung circle, specializing in painting quails, a motif which, *mirabile dictu*, seems to have been popular among the painters at the court. But in spite of the technical skill and great care bestowed by the artist on these bird-paintings, they do not quite reach the level of similar works ascribed to the emperor. They are rather dull and heavy.

There are at least half a dozen quail-pictures ascribed to Li An-chung in Japanese collections, some of them representing a single bird, others whole families of this rather clumsy poultry breed, which has a curious likeness to feathered balloons. One may indeed wonder why the artist devoted so much attention to this motif and also to rats, which formed another favourite motif of his. The question was raised by a contemporary connoisseur who wrote in a *t'i pa* on one of Li An-chung's pictures of rats: "There are a great many things in the world which can be painted; how strange it is that he has devoted his attention to rats! But when one looks at them (closely), the regret changes into enjoyment. Is that not due to the fact that the wonderful qualities of the brush-work cause a change in our feelings?"¹

Li An-chung was, however, also a successful landscape-painter and in this capacity followed in the

footsteps of Chao Ling-jang. This is beautifully illustrated by the little landscape representing Cottages in a Misty Grove in Autumn, mentioned before, which if it did not have the signature of Li An-chung, might be classified as a work by the older master. In some other album-leaves he has painted open views with animals and birds hunting, such as Two Hawks and a Dog Chasing a Hare (British Museum) and An Eagle Chasing a Pheasant (Seattle Art Museum) (Pl.229). But according to descriptions he also painted Grazing Sheep and Herd-boys Catching Young Birds, i.e. intimate motifs which he had observed in the countryside rather than romantic interpretations of the dream-land of the Immortals.

Li Ti must have been a considerably younger man but active during a very long period, if the dates on some of his pictures are right. He came from Ho-yang (Honan) and served in the imperial Academy as a *ch'êng-chung-lang* during the Hsüan-ho period (1119-1125). On the collapse of the North Sung government he left the capital and settled in Hangchou like so many others of the academicians, and in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162) became Vice-director of the new Academy and honoured with the Golden Girdle by the emperor Kao-tsung. He was still active during the Hsiao-tsung (1163-1190) and Kuang-tsung (1190-1198) reigns and was sometimes called "Li of the three emperors". This somewhat meagre gist of Li Ti's biography, as given in *T'u-hui pao-chien* and *Hua-chien*, might be acceptable if we suppose that the painter was in his twenties in the Hsüan-ho period (born about 1100), but it becomes still more surprising when we note that three of his pictures are dated in the year 1197 (and one 1196), when he would almost be a centenarian. To what extent the other pictures ascribed to him are earlier, is impossible to tell, because only one has an authentic date (1174); some of the others are signed but undated and with few exceptions quite small, i.e. album-leaves or fans. Most of them represent garden flowers, single stalks of mutan,

¹ Quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu* from *Wu-ti-pai-chi*.

hibiscus or lilies, or branches of blossoming fruit-trees, but besides such pictures he also did landscapes with water-buffaloes and herd-boys. Through the former (the flower-paintings) Li Ti is linked with the older Academy tradition in force ever since the beginning of the Sung period, while the landscapes with buffaloes belong to a current of painting which grew very popular in the South towards the end of the Sung period. It seems thus most appropriate to describe at this place only some of the flower-paintings while the buffalo-paintings may be mentioned later in connexion with similar pictures by other artists.

Li Ti's connexion with the older tradition of flower painting is clearly illustrated by a picture in the Ku-kung collection representing a dove and two smaller birds among a cluster of spring flowers such as narcissi, magnolias and blossoming shrubs. The flowers are crowded into a rather narrow rectangular field with blue background in the same way as in pictures attributed to Hsü Hsi or Chao Ch'ang. The formal correspondence with the flower-paintings from the beginning of the Sung period is so close that one is tempted to assume that Li Ti has imitated a definite early model. The signature and seal of the artist are accepted as correct, but unfortunately there is no indication of a date (Pl.244).

Li Ti's small flower-pieces in the shape of album leaves have been covetously collected in Japan as very fitting decorations for the tea-ceremony rooms. There are several of that type in Japanese collections (some ascribed to Chao Ch'ang, others to Li Ti), but only two are to our knowledge beyond doubt originals by the artist. These pictures (formerly in the Fukuoka collection and now in the National Museum in Tōkyō) which represent Hibiscus Flowers – two are white and two are pink both with green leaves – possess a living charm difficult to describe, because it all lies in the sensitive touch of the painter's brush. The pictures are hardly ten inches square, but the flowers – the way in which they unfold their variegated petals and reveal the opulent beauty hidden in their bosoms – are magni-

ficent; it is seldom that pictures so small offer such rich enjoyment. Both paintings bear the same inscription containing the painter's name and the characters *Ch'ing-yüan ting-chi*, corresponding to the year 1197, which – if correct – implies that these symbols of fresh and fragrant beauty were painted by a centenarian (Pl.245).

There were numerous painters of minor talent who also were attached to the Academy and attained some fame as painters of flowers and birds, for instance Li Chi, Tai Yüan and Lin Chun. They were all active in the Chêng-ho and Hsüan-ho periods and followed more or less closely in the footsteps of Huang Chü-tsai, the court painter at the beginning of the Sung period. Li Chi's name is found on a handscroll in the former National Museum in Peking representing branches of various fruit-trees in a highly finished coloured style of the same kind as in some of the so-called Ch'ien Hsüan paintings of the late thirteenth century. The picture is probably a copy but may be remembered as an illustration of the academic style.

Tai Wan was a favourite of the emperor Hui-tsung and served as a member of the Han-lin college 1110–1125. His art is known to me only through the reproduction of an album-leaf representing Two Small Birds on the Branches of a Cherry-apple Tree, formerly in the collection of Prince Kung (*Tōsō*, p.62). It is a pretty picture, akin to some of the secondary so-called Hui-tsung bird-paintings, but lacking in structural brush-work. The reproduction gives the impression of an embroidery rather than of a painted work. A whole series of Tai Wan's bird-paintings, forming an album of eight leaves with colophons by Lo Chên-yü, was published in China in 1918.

Among the various flower and bird-painters who carried on the Hui-tsung tradition into the South Sung epoch should be mentioned Lin Ch'un in particular. He was a prominent member of the Academy in Hangchow, where he was promoted to the position of a *tai chao* and received the Golden Girdle in the Shun-hsi period (1174–1189). He must

have enjoyed great reputation also in later times, because in *Hua yin* he is mentioned together with the five most famous bird-painters of the Sung period, i.e. Huang Ch'üan, Chao Ch'ang, Ma Shih-jung and Hui-tsung.

He is said to have based his style on close study of Chao Chang's art, a statement which is borne out by some of his paintings in the Palace Museum.¹ One of them which was included in the London Exhibition, represents Ten Magpies in a Pine-tree by a Rock, the other A Small Bird on a Branch of a Peach-tree. The latter in particular (repeatedly reproduced, also in colour) is a very elegant example of the minutely naturalistic kind of bird and fruit-painting that was introduced by Chao Ch'ang. It is a *mo-ku hua* executed in colour with no visible ink lines; the leathery texture of the worm-eaten leaves and the rosy bloom of the peaches are skilfully rendered with invisible brush-strokes, while the little bird with the long tail seems on the point of lifting its wings to fly. The style is perhaps more traditional than in the Hui-tsung bird-paintings but not less refined.

Better known through still preserved works are the two painters of the Mao family; Mao Sung, who was active in the Hsüan-ho era and became famous for his paintings of monkeys, and his son Mao I, who was active in Hangchou, where he became a *tai chao* in the Academy and specialized in painting cats and dogs, but also flowers and birds. Mao Sung's best-known work is the picture of a solitary monkey seated on the ground (belonging to Manju-in, but deposited in the Kyōto Museum). The painting has

lost much of its original beauty through wear and repair, but there is still enough of the original to convey an impression of the masterly brush-work in the black fur and the red face of the animal. Yet it is not merely the technical skill that makes this picture remarkable, it is also the deep sympathy expressed in this portrait of the tired old monkey with the sad face and the scraggy feet, seated in a stooping position as if sunk in meditative thought (Pl. 246).

Mao I's works are more common, and they too are found principally in Japanese collections; we are told that they were particularly esteemed by some old Japanese painters like Tosa Mitsunobu. They represent either some fowls in combination with garden rockeries and flowers, or families of cats and dogs, depicted with grace and intimacy with the intention to amuse the beholder. An exception to this rule is offered by a picture of a dog in the Boston Museum which, in accordance with certificates by the Japanese painters Yasonobu and Yoboku, used to be attributed to Mao I, an attribution which, however, was rejected by Okakura, who formulated the following remark about it: "The style is that of the Southern Sung and like Mao I, or rather his father Mao Sung, but the technique and silk mark it as a Yüan work. Very important."

It may thus, from a stylistic point of view, be said to represent the art of the Mao family, though it is uncommonly simple and has very little of the intimacy or sympathy in the characterization of the animal that distinguishes Mao Sung's picture of the monkey.

¹ Reproduced in *Ku-kung*, vols. IV and XVII.

The Renaissance in the South

THE YEARS of warfare, flight, and humiliation which followed immediately after the fall of K'ai-fêng, the Northern Sung capital, into the hands of the Chin armies and the carrying away into captivity of the old emperor Hui-tsung (1127) evidently caused a serious disorganization in the artistic activities also, but the pause was not very long. Old traditions were not lost or forgotten. The emperor Kao-tsung had no sooner re-established the government of the dynasty in Hangchou than he devoted himself with enthusiasm and success to the reorganization of the Academy of Painting and other institutions of a similar kind that had existed under his predecessors in K'ai-fêng. He was himself a sincere lover of art and a very good calligrapher, and in his work of reorganization he had the support of several of those men who had been prominent members of Hui-tsung's model Academy. Like most of the scholars and officials who had stood in personal contact with the court, they fled from the burning capital and hid themselves where best they could (like Li T'ang and Hsiao Chao, who met in the forests of the T'ai-hang mountains), but when the new order of things had been established, they gradually drifted towards the new capital, drawn thither by their sympathies or by imperial orders. Kao-tsung spared no efforts to reunite the old scholars and artists in Hangchou and to make them feel the solace of the imperial favours. When the compulsory interruption was over, the play of Sung painting was continued, the main actors were the same as before, but the scenery of the new act was completely changed.

And what scenery! Hangchou, the city of lakes and bridges, pavilions and temples, "the finest and noblest in the world", to quote Marco Polo, standing "as it were in the water and surrounded by water . . . And truly a trip on this Lake was a much more charming recreation than can be enjoyed on land. For on the one side lies the city in its entire length, so that the spectators in the barges, from the distance at which they stand, take in the whole prospect in its full beauty and grandeur, with its numberless palaces, temples, monasteries, and gardens, full of lofty trees, sloping to the shore."

Marco Polo's enthusiasm for Hangchou, as it stood in its days of glory at the end of the thirteenth century, was certainly not ill-founded. He was no incompetent judge; he came from Venice; he had seen many of the most famous cities of the world, but none that he considered equal to the great city of Kinsay (as the place then was called) in beauty of nature, architectural grandeur and refinement of life. Art and nature had there combined into a peculiarly rich and picturesque harmony, we may well believe him, though the "beautiful palaces and mansions of the richest and most exquisite structure that you can imagine" no longer exist on the shores of the Western Lake. Yet nature is here the same as in the days of glory, and the soft hazy light may help us to forget that the temples and pavilions have been ruined or rebuilt. They are all steeped in an atmosphere which seems to retain an echo of the great harmony that enchanted Messer Marco - it lives in the hush of the bamboo groves and in the rustling of the gnarled pines on the terraces along

the mountain slopes. At least, so it was when I first visited the place some forty years ago. The inspiration was still there, when the spring morning sprinkled its dew over the flowering soil and the shapes of the great trees slowly emerged from the mist – it was there, when the evening spread its veil over the quiet lake, where a lonely fisherman lingered in his boat, and the nightingale took up “the self-same song” in the shrubs at the old pagoda.

That was a place where Nature held before the eyes of man motifs of unsurpassed beauty, and where it revealed its secrets in symbols of tones and

shapes. It tuned the creative genius of the men who lived there and made them realize “the vision or the waking dream”. One may well ask if ever there has been a closer harmony between painters and the world around them than during those years of deep after-glow in Hangchou, when the boundaries between the seen and the unseen universe melted away in paintings which reflected the beauty of the boundless through a few strokes of the writing brush. The landscape-painting of the South Sung period could never have blossomed into such matchless fragrance, had it not been for the rich soil and inspiring surroundings of old Hangchou.

Li T'ang, Li Ti, Chiang Ts'an, Hsiao Chao, Chao Fu, Chu Jui, and Yen Tz'ü-p'ing

THE OLDEST and most influential of the painters who joined the new Academy in Hangchou was Li T'ang, *tzü* Hsi-ku, who was born before the middle of the eleventh century in Ho-yang in Honan. He must consequently have been an old man, probably in his late seventies, when the Academy of Painting was reorganized and he was called in by the emperor Kao-tsung to serve as its first head. The emperor had a great admiration for him, called him flatteringly "T'ang Li", thus inferring that he was comparable to the famous Li Ssü-hsiin of the T'ang period, and conferred upon him the Golden Girdle. He became thus the central personality in the art circles of the new capital and the initial influence in the formation of the new style of landscape painting which later on became known as the Ma-Hsia School after its two most prominent younger representatives.

Very little is recorded about Li T'ang's personal fortunes. He apparently never held any official position during the long period of his life that he passed in K'ai-feng, though he was a highly esteemed member of the emperor Hui-tsung's Academy, and it was then and there that he accomplished the main part of his painted *œuvre*. His later period of activity, in the southern capital, lasted for less than a decade because he died in the early part of the 1130's. These two seasons of creative activity, in the North and in the South respectively, were divided by a short interlude, a year or two of hardships, during which Li T'ang like so many other homeless citizens of the devastated capital sought refuge in the woods, where he among other perplexing

experiences met the robber-painter Hsiao Chao, who henceforth became his acolyte.

In view of these somewhat unequal periods of his active life one would expect Li T'ang to be pre-eminently a transmitter of the artistic ideals prevailing in official circles in the Northern Sung capital. But that was not the case. As far as may be concluded from paintings still existing, he must always have been a rather independent genius and a painter who did not stop at a certain stage in his evolution or congeal in mannerism but progressed continuously, stylistically as well as technically. This faculty of self-renewal, no doubt, also increased his influence on his surroundings and made it very powerful even when it was of relatively short duration and limited to the last few years of his life.

The historical records regarding Li T'ang thus refer more to his characteristics as a painter than to his personal life, the earliest being the notice by Li Ch'eng-sou in *Shan-shui hua-chüeh* (Chapt. *Fan-shuo*), a treatise which was written while Li T'ang was still alive. There is a passage on the general development of landscape-painting from which the following may be quoted:

"Many famous men of ancient and modern times have reached a high standard as landscape-painters. Among them were such prominent men as Kuan T'ung, Fan K'uan, Kuo Chung-shu, Kuo Hsi, Li Ch'eng, Ho Chên, Chang Chien, and Kao Hsün.¹ Each one established his own style. Some painted large prospects, others painted refined and detailed

¹ No painter by this name is recorded, while the others mentioned above are all well known.

views, some worked in a vigorous and hard manner, others in a light or a graceful manner, and each one perfected himself in what he liked best, treating his motifs accordingly. Many later men have followed after, but only Li T'ang and Hsiao Chao have transformed the style and in one swoop surpassed all modern and ancient men by their terse light and swift manner of painting. They are, indeed, of the divine class.

"Of Master Li's works, which are firmly painted with richly flowing (dripping) ink in a free, straight and abbreviated manner, it may be said that though they are well filled, they have empty space. Of Mr. Hsiao Chao's pictures, in which the scenery is hidden in vapours and clouds, it may be said that though (they seem) empty, they are well filled. If someone could combine the two styles into a perfect whole, he should be placed in the upper divine class."

It is indeed interesting to find the historical importance of Li T'ang so clearly stated by a younger contemporary who also gives some hints as to the reasons for his high estimate of the painter. It is true that his pupil Hsiao Chao (to whom we shall return presently) is placed at his side at the head of the new departure in landscape-painting, but the principal merit must, however, have been that of the older master, who also is hailed as a great renewer by critics of later periods.

The essential point in the "change of style" by which Li T'ang and Hsiao Chao "in one swoop surpassed all ancient and modern men", was, according to Li Ch'êng-sou, in their ways of rendering space, i.e. the proper balance of emptiness and fullness suggested by pictorial means. Li T'ang's manner of painting is characterized as vigorous and firm, his ink was "dripping", or richly flowing. He rubbed with a brush that was sometimes squeezed or stubbed; everything was clearly defined and the compositions well filled, yet not overcrowded; they produced, at least in part, impressions of space or distance, whereas the space impression in Hsiao Chao's landscapes depended on his use of clouds and mist.

The indications may seem vague, but they contain at least some hints about the general direction or tendency of his paintings, which are also illustrated by a few still preserved works of his. The only dated one among these, which thus may serve as a starting-point, is the mountain landscape in the Palace Museum (*K.-k. Shu-hua chi*, vol. XXVII), which is fully signed and dated 1124, i.e. in the heyday of the Hsüan-ho epoch when the Academy in K'aifêng was still in full swing, and it may be said to mark a middle stage in the stylistic development of Li T'ang's art (Pl. 247).

The composition consists of a broad mountain-cone that covers most of the background and two somewhat lower side-wings which project towards the front. Between the sharply cut and deeply cloven walls there is some open ground with flat boulders encircled by the turbulent water of a mountain stream and covered in places by the crawling roots of some pine-trees. All these various parts of the composition are rendered very carefully and defined in detail, the whole view being brought quite close to the spectator and not represented as far-off scenery, as was usual in the earlier mountain landscapes.

The decorative effect of the picture is to no small degree dependent on the silhouetting of the sharply cut rocks and crevices and the peculiar rendering of the "wrinkles" according to the pattern known as "*ta fu-p'i ts'un-fa*" (wrinkles like cuts of a big axe). They are not painted with a soft brush and flowing ink but with a relatively stiff and squeezed brush (*ts'a pi*) that produces the impression of variegated layers or diagonal stratifications. It may furthermore be noticed that the technical method is not absolutely uniform all over, the stratified character being more pronounced in the central mountain than in the rocks at the sides, where the brush has left more jerky touches or scars, recalling the short strokes and dots which are so significant in Fan K'uan's pictures. The correspondence is sufficiently evident to justify the conclusion that Li T'ang had studied the works of Fan K'uan in particular and received from them

certain impulses of technique and brush-work.¹ But these he utilized rather freely and combined with other more original elements of technique such as rubbing with a squeezed brush (*ts'a pi*). Li Ch'êng-sou had apparently some good reasons for his remark that Li T'ang did not simply continue the styles of the landscapists from the beginning of the Sung period but surpassed them.

The distance from this picture to the two famous landscapes in Koto-in of Daitokuji in Kyōto, which have recently been identified as works by Li T'ang, is not very great. They have much in common, particularly from a technical point of view, but it is at the same time evident that the pictures in Japan illustrate a later stage in the painter's evolution. One of them is signed by Li T'ang, as has been proved by Dr. Shimada, but neither of them is dated.² The very surprising old attribution of these two landscapes to Wu Tao-tzū was probably a consequence of their posterior combination with a Kuanyin picture of Wu Tao-tzū type into a triptych, which may have been accomplished in the fifteenth century and apparently also involved considerable cutting down of the size of these landscapes (present measurements: 106.5 × 43.6 cm.)

This transformation has to some extent impaired the original impression of space in these pictures; not only the tops of the mountains but also considerable portions at the sides, including parts of rocks and trees, have been lost. What is left seems thus more crowded or compressed than it was when the pictures were complete. Yet it is still possible to see what Li Ch'êng-sou meant when he wrote that "though Li T'ang's pictures seem filled (crowded), they have some empty space".

If these pictures illustrate two seasons (the two others missing), one of them may be called Autumn, or Winter and the other Summer; the former representing a steep waterfall over a precipice, the latter a broad winding stream that comes out of a deep gorge. There are in both pictures some bending and twisting trees on the rocky ledges by the waterfall and by the stream, bare and sturdy in the autumn

scene, leafy and wavy in the other picture. The figures are very small, yet they are so placed that they may be said to impersonate or reflect something of the mood of the scenery: the two men by the waterfall are impressed by its solemn grandeur, while the wanderer with a large bundle on his back who is proceeding along the stream towards the slope of the mountain is hastening his steps to escape the heat of a summer day (Pls. 249, 250).

The general lines of composition are much the same in the two pictures. The high mountains in both cases almost completely cover the upper portions and serve thus as a background for the intricate designs of the dark trees. The effect of height is overwhelming, but to a certain extent counterbalanced by the extension of the views below produced by the gorges and clefts in the rocks where the water comes out from its hidden depths. The direction of the movement out of the distance and downwards is strongly accentuated, but it is brought to a temporary halt in the pools or lakelets at the foot of the mountains.

The expressiveness of the pictures depends, however, on the brush-work just as much as on their designs. The mountains and rocks are rendered mainly with a squeezed or compressed brush, the so-called *ts'a pi*, by which the solidity and hardness of the rock-formations are brought out perfectly. The stems of the sturdy trees and their winding and twisting branches are drawn and modelled in a very forceful manner which gives them an almost metallic quality. Everything, as said in the above quotation from *Shan-shui hua-chüeh*, is convincingly solid and real and painted in a firm manner with "dripping" ink.

The pictures represent, no doubt, an advanced stage in the painter's career and are more likely to have been done after than before his moving to the

¹ The stylistic connexion between Li T'ang and Fan K'uan has been stressed in particular by Shimada Shujirō in his article *Koto-in Shōzō no San suige ni Tsuite*, published in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 165 (1951). In this article the discovery of the Li T'ang signature on the Koto-in landscape is told in detail.

² Cf. Shimada's article (in Japanese) in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 165.

south. That Li T'ang developed continuously and only attained full artistic freedom at the end of his life seems indeed most likely and is also confirmed by critics of the Ming period.

Another signed picture related in style to the above mentioned landscapes is the handscroll which used to be in the Ho Kuan-wu collection in Hong-kong.¹ The vigorous manner of execution marks it as a relatively late work. The landscape serves here as a stage for two old men, known in history as heroic examples of fraternal love, i.e. Po-i and Shu-ch'i, the sons of the Prince of Ku-chu, who in consequence of their great fraternal devotion both declined the throne of their father and sought refuge with Wên Wang, the Duke of Chou, and then wandered away into the mountains, where they lived for a while on wild herbs and finally perished of cold and hunger.² They are represented seated on the ground under some old pine-trees, absorbed in deliberations; they look rather worn and their long black beards have been growing freely during their stay in the wilderness. The group is framed by the massive trunks and far-spreading branches of the winding and bending trees which grow along the edges of the mountain terrace on which the scene is laid. The rocky ledge is rendered in the bold *ts'a pi* manner which produces the effect of cutting rather than of ordinary painting; the contours are not outlined, yet very sharply marked as if the terrace had been cut or chiselled out of the mountain, while the trunks and roots of the bending trees are modelled into high relief with effective use of the *fei pai* technique³ and "dripping" ink. The actual handling of the brush and ink is indeed remarkable, being firm and strong and yet very free in the use of richly flowing ink. The plastic definition of every element or portion of the picture is perfect, yet the prevailing general impression is one of pictorial beauty (Pl. 251).

The two men who form the central motif in this picture make us realize that Li T'ang was no less prominent as a figure painter than as a landscapist. This has also been pointed out by leading

critics of the Ming period, who praise his skill in various directions as a painter of rocks and pines, turbulent waters and rushing streams, water-buffaloes and herd-boys, scholars and country folk, all filled with the breath of life. Chang Ch'ou wrote in *Shu-hua fang* (vol. 10): "Li T'ang was a good painter of human figures and landscapes. His expressionism – the ideas expressed with the brush – was not of an ordinary kind. He excelled even more in painting oxen, following in this the manner of Tai Sung." The writer goes on to describe a picture by Li T'ang which he thinks should be placed above certain famous works by Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei. Among the figure-paintings by the master mentioned by Wu Ch'i-chên in *Shu-hua chi* may be remembered in particular a scroll representing A Scholar Playing the Ch'in. The man was seated by a purling well under a tree, and the rendering was so vivid that one "could hear the sound of the water as well as that of the ch'in".⁴

Li T'ang has been made responsible for quite a number of pictures representing rustic types, oxen with herd-boys and the like, but most of them are apparently painted by skilful imitators of the Yüan or Ming period rather than by himself. That is no doubt true of the rather humorous picture in the former National Museum in Peking representing A Village Surgeon practising his art on a sturdy client which has been published repeatedly as a work by Li T'ang. The execution is lacking in the strength and firmness of Li T'ang's brush-work but the design may well be his.

A somewhat better illustrative picture, also with a humorous undertone, is the handscroll known as A Country Wedding Procession, in the Ueno

¹ Reproduced in full scale by the Chung-hua Book Co., Shanghai.

² Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, 1657.

³ *Fei pai* (flying white) is "the method of brush-work in which the hairs of the brush are allowed to separate so that a stroke is not solid black but broken by streaks of untouched ground. The effect is one of speed and lightness; the strokes are almost three-dimensional" (Benjamin March). It is produced by a relatively dry brush.

⁴ Quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. II. (Possibly a later metaphor!)

collection (now in Kyōto). It illustrates the arrival of a country bride at the home of her future husband's family. The procession is made up of a very mixed array of people, some on foot, some riding on donkeys or buffaloes, who move and act with the uncomfortable dignity of loafers and peasants dressed up for an occasion in borrowed garments. The scene takes place on a bare sandy slope under some old willows, whose light foliage spreads a fugitive air of spring over the rustic lovers and their expectant friends. The figures are drawn with a very thin, not to say sharp, brush; every little wrinkle in the garments or hair in the furs of the animals being clearly indicated, while the trunks of the old willows which are partly visible along the slope, are painted in a bolder fashion and dotted with richer ink. The picture is said to be signed with the master's name, but if so, the writing must be a later interpolation.

A special group within the *œuvre* of Li T'ang is formed by the landscapes with buffaloes such as the excellent little picture in the Boston Museum which, according to the old label, represents "Returning Drunk from a Village Feast in Spring". The old grey-beard who is seated in a somewhat uncomfortable position on a scraggy buffalo, would no doubt tumble off, if he were not supported by a servant walking at his side, while another urchin walks ahead, pulling the slow animal along the river-bank with a long rope. The figure reminds us of some of the people in the Wedding Procession, but the quality of the brush-work is superior, as may be seen in the willow trunk which is modelled into full plastic relief (Pl. 252).

This is certainly one of the very best buffalo-paintings which, with more or less reason, are associated with the name of Li T'ang. The motif became particularly popular at the time when the centre of artistic activity was moved to the south, and it was often treated with a touch of humour expressed in the juxtaposition of the uncouth, heavy beast and the lithe and slender herd-boy. One such picture by Li T'ang is described by a critic of the Ming period as follows: "There is a water-buffalo

under the trees who wants to go to the right, but the herd-boy is pulling him towards the left; both are bending down and making great exertions, wrestling with each other, so that he who looks at the painting feels as if he himself were exerting all his strength."¹ In other pictures the effect is not centred on the opposition between the animal and the boy, but on their companionship or mutual confidence, the boy clinging to the back of the buffalo, which is running away from an approaching storm, as may be seen in the picture in the Palace Museum, called a *Milch Cow*, because the composition is here completed with a calf.

The most prominent among Li T'ang's competitors in the field of buffalo-painting was Li Ti, the somewhat younger artist whose merits as a flower-painter were described in a preceding chapter. Whether these two men were in personal contact is not known, but it must be admitted that they did not have much in common as artists, except their occupation with such motifs as water-buffaloes. In painting these animals they both followed in the footsteps of Tai Sung, the famous master of the late eighth century who, as far as we know, was the first to introduce the buffaloes tripping along or running. Li Ti was after all a more traditional or academic painter than the more independent, not to say impetuous, Li T'ang, whose unusual temperament is reflected in a more expressionistic brush-work.

Most famous among Li Ti's buffalo paintings are the two album-leaves formerly in the Masuda collection but now belonging to the Yamato Bunkakan. They represent hunters returning over snow-covered fields and are executed with slight reddish, brown and white colours and ink on silk, which has darkened with age. The hunter is, in the one picture, tramping ahead of the animal, carrying his catch, a hare, on a pole, but in the other he is seated in a crouching position on the back of the bull, holding his pole in front, and on this a pheasant is suspended. The illustrative interest is centred in the figures and

¹ Quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, II, from Wu Ch'i-ch'eng, *Shu-hua chi*.

the animals, but the aesthetic significance of the pictures depends mainly on the atmosphere of cold winter evenings evoked by the very effective snow-laden trees in desolate landscapes. The strict economy of means in colour and design and the perfect balance of the compositions imbue those small pictures with a great decorative beauty which increases their poetic appeal (Pls. 253, 254).

A larger picture, belonging to the Peking Palace Museum, signed by Li Ti and dated in the year 1174, was included in the London Exhibition of 1935-1936. The motif is here two heavy buffaloes with herd-boys on their backs rushing homeward at full speed, heads down and tails up, caught by the sudden rainstorm. The wind is shaking the leafage of the old willows and threatens to carry away the hat of one of the boys, while the other is in danger of being swept off altogether from his bumpy seat. All this is rendered with a note of humour, but with no emphasis in the execution that would reveal the dramatic impetus, or life-breath, which is the nerve of the motif.

Beside the buffalo-paintings mentioned above which are either signed or attributed on stylistic ground to Li T'ang and to Li Ti, there are others of a similar kind which merit to be remembered at this place, even though they cannot be labelled with names of definite artists. This applies to the fan-shaped picture in the Boston Museum which represents a herd-boy in the act of mounting a large bull by grasping its horns and climbing over its head. The picture has neither seal nor signature, but was formerly attributed to Tai Sung, an attribution perhaps to some extent justified by the powerful design of the bull, while the execution, particularly of such parts as the bamboos and the stones, points to the South Sung period.

Similar elements of style may be observed in the picture in the Seattle Art Museum which represents a herd-boy following a leisurely walking buffalo, though the execution is not by the same hand as in the Boston picture. Mr. Sherman Lee has well characterized the realistic rendering of this imposing

beast, pointing out that "the bull looks and acts like the heavy animal that he is",¹ while the boy, limping behind on scraggy legs, appears as a rather frail creature of skin and bones. The contrast between the animal and its supposed leader has been effectively emphasized and this may not be simply from realistic reasons. It seems more likely that this picture (like a few others) has a symbolic or illustrative significance besides being a study from nature (Pl. 255). It is not necessarily a Ch'an painting, but the peculiar relationship or opposition between man and beast had a general significance in Buddhist China, which no doubt was also felt by the painters.

The motif seems to have had, so to speak, a double attraction for Chinese painters; its popularity in the South Sung period, when the centre of artistic activity was in Hangchow or thereabout, became very marked, and more buffalo-paintings were then produced than can be mentioned at this place. Most of them are anonymous but a few are ascribed to painters recorded in Chinese chronicles, as for instance the pictures by Chu Hsi (or, Chu I), who is mentioned together with his kinsman Chu Ying in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* (Vol. 14). They were both active at the end of the Northern Sung period and specialized in painting buffaloes. It is said about Chu Hsi that he became famous for representing the animals in sunset landscapes in fresh verdure, with a solitary herd-boy playing the flute, and also for his pictures of lonely villages. "He never painted market scenes, nor any fighting or running bulls. He did not reach the standard of Tai Sung, yet he was a famous master among later men." His name is attached to two fan pictures which formed part of the P'ang Yüan-chi collection, and also to a painting in the Freer Gallery (17.333) and one in the C. T. Loo collection, catalogued by Laufer,² but the reproduction can hardly be said to transmit the impression of a Sung painting.

¹ Cf. Sherman Lee, A Probable Sung Buffalo Painting. *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XII, p. 4.

² Cf. T'ang, *Sung and Yuan Paintings belonging to Various Chinese Collections*, described by B. Laufer, Paris, 1924. Pl. XXI.

The handscroll in the Detroit Institute of Arts, which is known under the suggestive title *Spring Pasture*, is a more important specimen. It has been reproduced and described in an article by Benjamin March, in which he says that the former owner of the picture, P'u Ju the painter who inherited it from his father Prince Kung, "regarded the painting as being by an unknown Sung artist in the style of Li T'ang"¹ – a definition of its style and origin to which we willingly subscribe. At the same time it should be noted that an exact duplicate of this picture is reproduced and described in F. S. Kwen's catalogue of paintings belonging to the Lai Yüan Co. in Shanghai (1916).² The reproductions are not sufficiently clear to allow a close scrutiny of minor details, but the main elements of the composition are the same. A noteworthy difference is, however, the addition of two colophons by connoisseurs of the early nineteenth century, according to whom the Lai Yüan picture should be attributed to Wang Tsao, *tzü* Sung-nien, who was active in the Shao-hsing era (1131–1162) and consequently almost contemporary with Li T'ang. It would be interesting to know if there are some good reasons for this attribution, which also may apply (at least indirectly) to the picture in Detroit. The interdependence of the two pictures is evident, but whether one of them was or both of them were painted by Wang Tsao is impossible to tell from the material at our disposition (Pl. 256).

The composition with its variegated groups, some in vivid movement, others quiet and reposeful, has been well described by Benjamin March. He notes in particular "a naked boy who swims after his buffalo, while the others stand gingerly on the nearby submerged backs of theirs . . . Under the trees the buffaloes go soberly about the serious business of being buffaloes with all the unimaginative earnestness we are wont to interpret into them. Beyond the stream a small half-hidden thatched cottage gives an ultimate destination to our wanderings and imparts a pleasantly domestic touch to the scene."

The picture is as a whole one of the most entertaining illustrations known to us of actual buffalo-life in the river-valleys in the south. If Wang Tsao was capable of doing this, he must have been one of the best followers of Li T'ang in the field of buffalo-painting.

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Chiang Ts'an, *tzü* Kuan-tao, from Wu-hsing in Chékiang was a highly gifted painter of the same period who also became known for his pictures of water-buffaloes. He was a sickly man, who looked very thin and emaciated; his passion was drinking tea, which he regarded as an elixir of life. It is furthermore recorded of him "that he grasped the scenic beauty of the lakes and the sky; peaceful and open as well as wild and desolate views are rendered in his pictures within a square foot. He followed Tung Yüan as a landscape-painter, but surpassed the old master in boldness and freedom of brush-work."³ His poetic temperament and creative genius are characterized in *Hua-chi* as follows:⁴ "He knew how to express through the scenery of his paintings that which is beyond thoughts; he cannot be compared with other people." . . . "Chü-jan followed Tung Yüan, who used the hemp-fibre wrinkles, painted with short brush-strokes, and Chiang Ts'an followed Chü-jan's wrinkles, which were 'like nails pulled out of the mud (*ni-li pa-ting ts'un*)'."

When the emperor Kao-tsung heard about this extraordinary painter he was given an official position and summoned to present himself at court. But his hold on life was not great, and the strain of the official recognition seems to have been too much for him: "When Chiang Ts'an came to Lin-an (where the emperor resided) he said: 'Now I have got an appointment in the prefecture; tomorrow I

¹ Cf. *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, March 1932.

² *Descriptive Catalogue of Chinese Paintings* compiled by F. S. Kwen, Lai-yuan Company, Shanghai, 1916.

³ From *Hua-chi hui-yao*.

⁴ Quoted in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 10.

shall be presented to the emperor.' But that same evening he died. Indeed, such was his fate."¹

Chiang Ts'an's deep penetration into the life of nature, and faculty of expressing "through the scenery of his paintings that which is beyond thought" may still be observed in two important landscape scrolls containing an overwhelming abundance of strange rocks, bubbling wells, winding brooks and luxuriant verdure. The two scrolls are closely resembling variations on the same motifs, but some time may have elapsed between their execution, the latter being a more restricted version of the composition which is developed on a larger scale in the other.

The larger of the two scrolls is in the Ku-kung collection; it measures 19.8 x 1.9 Chinese feet and is known under the title *Ch'ien-li Chiang-shan*, A Thousand Miles of River and Mountain. At the end of the picture are inscriptions by K'o Chiu-ssü and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang who both praise it as a work by Chiang Ts'an. Other inscriptions by less known men are dated 1217 and 1249, while the emperor Ch'ien-lung's inscription is dated 1747. Then follow colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Wu Kuang and a number of seals including that of Liang Ch'ing-piao. I know it only from the reproductions in *Ku-kung Chou-kan*, vol.15, but to judge by these it is painted in a rather fluent manner derived from Chü-jan with effective pictorial treatment of light and shade in the wooded and fissured mountains and a suggestion of the moist atmosphere over the low lands and open river views.

The smaller scroll, which belongs to the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City measures 9 ft. 8½ in. x 12½ in. (the length being only about half of the longer scroll), is called by the very significant title *Massed Verdure of Wooded Peaks*. It bears the inscription: Chiang-nan Chiang Ts'an (which seems to be a later addition), and an encomium by the emperor Ch'ien-lung dated 1785. The picture must have been a late acquisition by the emperor and is as such introduced in the second set of *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*. It has also a colophon by K'o Chiu-ssü and a great number of

seals including that of Liang Ch'ing-piao (Pls. 257, 258). The fact that discriminating collectors as well as the emperor Ch'ien-lung found it necessary to acquire this minor scroll, though they already possessed the larger edition of the same motif, tends to show that the one is not simply a repetition of the other but that each one has some interest of its own as a genuine work by the rare master. The compositions are, as said above, essentially the same, though somewhat condensed or foreshortened in the latter, and both transmit impressions of the inexhaustible repetition and fertility of Nature, reflected in the intricate formations of the mountains and the luxuriant growth of the trees. But in the execution a difference is noticeable in so far as the rather fluent brush-work in the larger version has become more serried and prickly in the smaller version, a change that seems to correspond to the statement of the biographers that Chiang Ts'an became ever more thin and emaciated with the years.

Besides the above-mentioned two scrolls may be recalled the monumental Lu Shan picture in the Ku-kung collection which according to the inscription is Chiang Ts'an's version of a composition by Fan K'uan. The grand original design still stands out impressively in spite of the mannered brush-work which bears witness to a much later period of execution.²

The minor fan-shaped picture in the Boston Museum known as *Mountains and a Ravine in Mist* is stylistically akin to the master's works (Pl. 259) whereas the scroll of the Hundred Water-buffaloes in the Metropolitan Museum may have been attributed to the painter, because it represents a favourite motif of his. But it can hardly be the same picture as mentioned by Chang Ch'ou, because this has an autograph inscription by the emperor Kao-tsung and a dozen colophons by collectors and connoisseurs, none of which exists on the picture in New York, which however may

¹ *Hua Chi*, vol.III.

² *Ku-kung Shih-hua chi*, vol.LXXV.

render Chiang Ts'an's famous composition in a somewhat reduced version.

Hsiao Chao from Hu-tsê in Shansi was evidently a man of strange temperament, and a painter of considerable influence in the Shao-hsing era. He was mentioned in our account of Li T'ang's peregrinations in the T'ai-hang mountains when the two men fled from the devastated capital. The first encounter between the old master and the young painter who supported himself by robbery in default of other means of livelihood, cannot have been very agreeable. The young man simply laid hold of Li T'ang's travelling bag, hoping to find some food in it, but on searching in it he found "only a box with chalk and some brushes, and no more". His surprise was great when Li T'ang revealed his identity, "since Hsiao Chao had often heard about the famous master, and he followed him immediately to the south". He became Li T'ang's closest pupil or, as the chronicler says: "the master bestowed upon him all his ability", and introduced him into the Academy, where he was appointed a *toi chao* with the title of a "highly meritorious official".¹

It was already noted in the quotation from Li Ch'êng-sou that Hsiao Chao's influence on the stylistic evolution was rated very high, though he painted in a style different from Li T'ang's: "The scenery in his pictures was hidden in vapours and clouds; they seemed empty, yet they were well filled."

Chang Ch'ou, on the other hand, wrote that "Hsiao Chao's work looks very much like that of Li T'ang, but his own particular style consists in a rich and liberal use of ink (in layers), and yet everything he painted, human figures, landscapes, boats, carriages or buildings was exact and wonderful".²

This characterization is completed in another somewhat later chronicle where it is said that "Hsiao Chao had grasped the style of Tung Yüan, but made the wrinkles stronger and more vigorous. He was particularly fond of painting strange peaks and rocks, which seemed to the beholder like the tumultuous rush of splashing waves and masses of clouds gathered by the wind".³

Even if these various characterizations of Hsiao Chao's style of painting and extraordinary mastery of the brush contain some exaggerations, it seems evident that he must have been a rather dynamic personality whose tempestuous temperament found expression in his brush-work. This is furthermore vividly confirmed by the record about his way of executing certain wall-paintings in the Cool Hall on the Ku Mountain (*Ku-shan liang-t'ang*) erected above the West Lake in Hangchow. It rose magnificent above a grove of plum-trees with walls thirty feet high. The emperor Kao-tsung had announced his visit to the new building for the next day. The event was discussed by some courtiers, and one of them said: "The high visitor will arrive, but the walls are still white". It was immediately decided that the imperial painter Hsiao Chao should be sent there to paint some landscapes. When Chao received the order, he asked to be given four gallons of wine. At sunset he went into the Ku hall; and then at every watch, when the drum was beaten, he drank one gallon, and each time a gallon was emptied, one wall was finished. Thus the painting was done, and when it was completed, Hsiao Chao was also finished and drunk. The emperor arrived, and as he walked round, he looked at the walls with surprise and admiration. He was informed that the paintings were by Hsiao, and upon that he ordered that the painter should be rewarded with gold and silk.

Hsiao's pictures possessed above all the quality of making the beholder feel as if he actually were on the famous mountains and rivers, and not simply looking at pictures of them.

After reading such descriptive comments as quoted above, we cannot but feel a deep regret that we no longer have an opportunity of obtaining a reliable confirmation of Hsiao's masterly brushmanship. The wall-paintings in the Wu-shêng Miao as well as those of the Ku-shan Hall perished long ago,

¹ From *Hsü-hua shih-hui yao*, quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. III.

² *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 10, p. 32.

³ *Hua Ch'uan*, quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. III.

and the famous scroll illustrating The Twelve Auspicious Omens at the Beginning of the Emperor Kao-tsung's Reign has not been identified. The pictures which pass under his name are not very important, even though some of them may be accepted as originals. This is true of the large album leaf in Mr. C. C. Wang's collection in New York, which represents A Small Wine Shop in a Bamboo Grove at the Foot of Snow-covered Mountains, and also of the handscroll which contains a close view of Tigerhill in Soochow with its pagoda and other buildings. The latter picture, which was in a private collection in China, is known to me only in reproduction, which hardly allows a safe conclusion as to its date of execution, but it seems to be distinguished by the immediateness of an original and is attractive as a faithful rendering of one of the most popular historic places in China¹ (Pl. 261).

Another handscroll likewise in private possession in China, which has the painter's signature and the date 1134, is called Dwellings in the Mountains. The composition consists of sharply-cut rocks, impetuous streams at the height of spring-floods, whirling and foaming as they rush down into the river below. These elements and the rocks in particular are painted with the squeezed brush and "wrinkles like the scars of a big axe", exactly after the model of corresponding parts in Li T'ang's pictures, though apparently with more emphasis on the outlines of the forms. The composition is, at least in part, just as well filled as in Li T'ang's landscapes; there are masses of large leafy trees growing along the shores, and open galleries and pavilions built over rushing streams, not to mention the boatmen who are transporting people over the river. The prevailing impression is one of rocky strength and surging waters, corresponding more or less to the records about Hsiao Chao's famous paintings (Pl. 260).²

Chao Fu may also from a stylistic point of view be classified among the followers of Li T'ang, though the two painters may never have met. He lived on the Pei-ku mountain near Chên-chiang in Kiangsu

and was active in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). According to the records in *T'u-hui pao-chien* and *Shu-hua fang* (Vol. IX), he mainly painted views of the Chin and Chiao islands in the Yangtse surrounded by whirling waters and breaking waves, which he rendered with great strength and vitality. "But what a pity that he concentrated on motifs of a single district!" He could, however, also paint excellent figures. Chang Ch'ou writes: "In the Shao-hsing era there was a man called Chao Fu (or Fei), a very skilful painter, living at Pei-ku, who in signing his pictures did not write his family name but simply Fu [Fei], and when people in later times got hold of his paintings, they sometimes thought that they were by Mi Fei. Thus Wen Hsiu-ch'eng mentions in *Yen-shih shu-hua chi* a scroll called *Chiang-shan wan-li t'u* as a work by Mi Fei, though it was painted by Chao Fei (Fu)."³ This scroll is evidently the same as that now exhibited in the Hui-hua kuan in Peking, i.e. an imposingly large and bold paraphrase on the eternal motif of split rocks and rushing water, inspired by the upper reaches of the Yangtse, and interpreted in a brilliant manner with rich ink and a vigorous brush quite unlike that of the academicians. But it is difficult to see how a picture like this could be confused with paintings by Mi Fu.

Chu Jui was probably a little younger, active towards the end of the twelfth century. He was a native of Hopei but passed most of his life in Hangchow, where he served as a *tai chao* in the Academy of Painting and was honoured with the Golden Girdle. The emperor Ning-tsung's mother (end of twelfth century) is said to have written poems on some of his painting. But even while living in the South, he retained a preference for the scenery of the northern provinces, his place of origin. He painted several famous snow-landscapes,

¹ Tōdō, pp. 59 and 60.

² A characteristic example of Hsiao Chao's art representing A View from a Tower over Mountains in Mist preserved in the Ku-kung collection. The picture, which is akin to Li T'ang's work, has grown very dark but the signature is still visible.

³ Mentioned in the biography of Mi Fei, *Shu-hua fang*, vol. IX, p. 48.

for instance, Hunters in Snow, Feeding Horses in Snow, Travelling by Mule-carts, Food Transport, but also pictures of a softer mood such as Clearing after Rain in Autumn and A Cool Morning at a Pavilion by a Lake. They were all praised for their truth to nature and excellent brushmanship. Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang wrote about a picture of his representing A Visit to T'ai-shan that it was so good that even Li T'ang could not dream of doing anything equal to it.¹

If we make allowance for a certain portion of exaggeration, unavoidable in such eulogies, it becomes comprehensible why a picture such as the handscroll in the Ku-kung collection, which illustrating Su Tung-p'o's poem "The Red Cliff" is ascribed to Chu Jui.² The picture is a remarkably brilliant work in design as well as in execution, revealing some influence from Li T'ang. The composition has a strong structural quality, the steep cliffs and mountain walls rise in striking contrast to the horizontal lines of the water, which at some places broadens out into open vistas and at other places is enclosed in impetuous streams between rocky walls. The rhythm is bold and the ink is rich; the painter has used the squeezed brush (*ts'ü pi*), thus producing impressions of the hardness and solidity of the rocks (Pls. 262, 263).³

The picture in the Boston Museum which bears Chu Jui's signature is not a thing of the same artistic importance, particularly as it has grown dark with age and been cut off at the top. It represents Bullock-carts Travelling over a Mountain Pass. The road is very steep and it winds between sharply-cut cliffs; the mules and bullocks are exerting themselves to the utmost, pulling the loaded carts zig-zag up to the rest-house, where they halt for a while before continuing to the ridge beyond. All the details are closely observed and of a kind that still may be seen on far-off mountain roads in China, where travel is exceedingly slow and the rests are long, as everyone who has been on the roads and looks at the picture will remember.

Yen Tz'ü-p'ing is also counted among the fol-

lowers of Li T'ang, though he may have been too young to receive personal instruction from the old master. He was the third son of Yen Chung, one of the old members of Hui-tsung's Academy who, like most of his colleagues, re-established himself in Hangchou, together with his three sons Tz'ü-an, Tz'ü-yü, and Tz'ü-p'ing, and earned a great reputation (and the Golden Girdle) through his pictures of water-buffaloes. The sons painted mostly similar motifs - i.e. landscapes with herding buffaloes - and the best of the three was Tz'ü-p'ing. He entered the Academy in the Lung-hsing era (1163-1164); became a few years later a *chih hou* (the degree below *tai chao*) and received the Golden Girdle. One of his most important works, representing Mountains in Snow, is signed and dated in correspondence with the year 1181. His brush and ink-manner is said to have been very like Li T'ang's, except in the "wrinkles of the stones and rocks", which he made in a different way.

This may also be observed in a large signed landscape by Yen Tz'ü-p'ing in the Palace Museum collection, known under the title of The Four Pleasures or Contentments.⁴ The figures, which illustrate such various occupations as fishing and ch'in-playing are, however, quite small and almost lost in the huge scenery of mountains, trees, water, and pavilions, which is composed in a fashion that no longer can be called traditional. The overhanging mountain silhouette is of a new type; the forms do not bulge or reach out as mostly in the works of earlier masters, but seem rather compressed, conveying the impression of dry parchment or leather. The connexion with Li T'ang is perhaps more noticeable in the painting of the trees, though these too are of a

¹ Cf. *Shu-hua hui-k'ao* and *T'u-hui pao-chien*, III.

² Reproduced in a special volume issued by the Palace Museum in Peking, 1932.

³ The attribution of this picture to Chu Jui is due to Hsiang Mo-lin, but it seems more probable that it was painted later, possibly at the time when Chao Ping-wen wrote his colophon which is dated 1228.

⁴ The picture is executed in ink with slight colouring, and measures 6 ft. 2 in. × 3 ft. 4 in. Cf. *Ku-kung shu-hua chi*, vol. 13.

harder and more metallic quality than in the works of the older master (Pl.264).

The connexion is much more evident in the large Landscape with Water-buffaloes (formerly in the Akimoto collection, now in the Sumitomo house in Sumiyoshi)¹ which formerly was ascribed to Li T'ang. It is evidently a picture by a follower of Li T'ang, but it bears no signature or inscription and can hardly be said to correspond in style very closely to the signed picture by Yen Tz'ü-p'ing. The attribution to the painter is consequently a matter of conjecture and not particularly convincing. The design is, however, of the unilateral type which became most usual in the Hangchou Academy, and the scene has a bucolic charm that is very characteristic of the country around the lower Yangtse river. Herd-boys are amusing themselves under leafy trees

on a river-bank, while a bull is grazing and a cow is sleeping with her muzzle on her calf. All these various elements are, however, rendered with more exactness of detail than pictorial atmosphere, and in this respect the picture is distinctly inferior to Li T'ang's works.

An album leaf, in the Freer Gallery, which represents some cottages under pine-trees on a promontory and misty mountain silhouettes in the distance, has more marked pictorial quality, though the linear definition is here too noticeable. The picture is fully signed by the master and stylistically akin to the large landscape in the Palace Collection, and it may be admitted that the smaller size is an advantage from the artistic viewpoint (Pl.265).

¹ Colour reproduction in *Kokka*, No. 191.

Su Han-Ch'ên, Chao Po-Chü and Ma Ho-Chih

THE LEADING figure-painters who were active at the Academy of Painting from its new start in Hangchou had served in similar positions in K'ai-fêng before "the crossing of the River". They were experienced academicians like most of the landscape-painters discussed in the last chapter, and well acquainted with the literary culture and aesthetic ideals which had formed the pith and marrow of the activities at the emperor Hui-tsung's model institution. They treated legendary subjects and poetic illustrations with the same success as scenes of actual life, but in all that they produced there was this undercurrent of literary romanticism harking back to "the Enchanted Peach Garden", a breath of fading flowers from a quasi-Taoist Elysium that still lingered around the West Lake in Hangchou. These artists brought the exquisiteness of the Sung refinement to an apogee, reflecting in their painting the harmony of colour and purity of form to be known and admired by later generations, particularly in the silks and ceramics of the Sung period.

Wang Chü-chêng, sometimes called Han-ko, was one of the earliest of the refined figure-painters in the Southern Sung period, and he is also one of the least known, because his works are rare. He should, however, be remembered here is passing, because his name is attached to a very charming fan-painting in the Boston museum representing a young lady seated on a garden terrace admiring a parakeet shown to her by a boy servant. The design is beautifully balanced and executed with the same refinement as Su Han-ch'ên's paintings of similar motifs (Pl.266).

The dates of Wang Chü-chêng's activity are not exactly known, but since his father Wang Cho was a contemporary of Wu Tsung-yüan, he may well have been active at the very beginning of the twelfth century, if not before. He received his first training as a painter in his father's studio, but specialized in paintings of noble ladies and followed in this respect Chou Fang, grasping "the leisurely ease" of the T'ang master's style. We are also told that he used to go to certain temples and gardens where he could observe the ladies without himself being seen.¹

To what extent the traditional attribution of the graceful fan-painting in Boston is acceptable is difficult to decide since the material for comparison is so very slight. The only other picture to which Wang Chü-chang's name is attached is a short handscroll in the possession of Chang Ta-ch'ien in Hongkong, which represents a Woman Spinning Thread Assisted by a Man Servant; the signature on this picture consists of only two characters: Chü-chêng. The picture is interesting as a very close, not to say humorous, study of the two rugged persons who are deeply engaged in the spinning of the thread (beside a boy and a dog). They are both rendered with unfailing exactness in every detail of the facial types and tattered costumes, but the whole thing is animated by a spirit totally different from that of the graceful fan-painting in Boston, and it is difficult to recognize the same master's hand in the two pictures.

Su Han-ch'ên, who came from K'ai-fêng, had

¹ Cf. *T'u-hua chien-wên chih*, III, and *Shêng-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing*, p.17.

served as a *tai chao* in Hui-tsung's Academy and stood in no less favour with the emperors Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung. He was honoured with the title of *ch'eng-hsin lang* and was probably active until about 1167. Su Han-ch'ên's fame as a painter is based partly on his Buddhist and Taoist pictures and partly on the more realistic genre-scenes from the lives of children and young ladies. Of the former, which included some wall-paintings in two of the Taoist temples in Hangchou – i.e. Wu-shêng miao and Hsien-ying kuan – nothing is left,¹ whereas his genre-paintings survive in several interesting examples, which retain the general characteristics of the master's art even when not executed by himself. Such illustrative scenes from the lives of children – the pets of every family in China – must indeed have enjoyed great popularity not only because of their motifs but also on account of their rich display of decorative details, including costumes, toys, utensils, dishes, garden furniture and the like, and consequently attracted many skilful imitators (Pl.268).

Typical examples of this kind are the pictures representing A Toy-pedlar, or A Sweetmeat-vendor, which exist in several versions with considerable variations. The most complete and elaborate known to me are the pictures in the Palace Museum collection and in the Nezu collection in Tokyo.² The pedlar is represented pushing a little cart with a high scaffolding on which many kinds of toys and trinkets are suspended. Five or six small children have gathered around the cart, one with his baby brother on his back (as often seen in China). Some of them are standing in mute adoration of the coveted treasures, others are giving outlet to their excitement by fighting briskly. The general effect of these rather entertaining compositions is gay and multi-coloured like the thrilling and shifting joys of the children, and even when not actually executed in the Sung period, they probably give an idea of the most popular phase of Su Han-ch'ên's art.

A somewhat simplified or fragmentary version of the motif may be seen in a picture formerly in the Charles B. Hoyt collection in Cambridge, Mass. It

represents A Sweetmeat-vendor with a nicely arranged display of small plates and boxes on a bamboo scaffolding, apparently urging a boy to go on to some other person who, however, is missing owing to the cutting of the picture. The fragmentary condition of the composition makes it impossible to reach a complete idea of its illustrative motif, but it arouses interest by the very expressive gestures and positions of the two figures, and the refinement in the rendering of the various details of costumes and utensils (Pl.267).

Su Han-ch'ên's most attractive paintings of children are limited to two, three or four of such small models, usually placed in a garden, where they are occupied in some characteristic game, for instance with crickets, or with masks in pantomimes imitating older folk. Among the former may be pointed out a picture in the Palace Museum in which the garden scenery is emphasized by a tall trunk-like T'ai-hu stone and a large flowering mutan shrub which fill the background, while two small boys are playing with a cricket on a garden stool in front of the stone. The scene has the atmosphere of a Chinese rock-garden in full bloom (Pl.269).

It is one of the most attractive pictures by Su Han-ch'ên and makes one recall the appreciation of the painter's work by Wu Chên, the famous bamboo painter of the Yüan period, who wrote on a painting by Su Han-ch'ên representing Children Playing and Betting: "Su Han-ch'ên was able to render the manners and appearances of children completely and to express their spirit and feelings, because he concentrated on them entirely. This painting is beautiful, lovely and pure and causes great enjoyment. There was good reason for the praise bestowed on him in the Shao-hsing and Lung-hsing epochs."³

¹ With the possible exception of a picture in the Freer Gallery representing Amitäbha Welcoming Souls to Paradise. It is signed Su Han-ch'ên, second year of Lung Hsing, i.e. 1164, but seems to have been executed at a later date.

² Cf. K.-b. *Shu-hua chi*, vol.VI. Chinese Catalogue, London Exhibition, p.73. Nezu picture reproduced in the catalogue of the collection and in *Toto*, p.72.

³ Quoted in *Nan-Sung hua-yüan lu* from *Pao-hui lu*.

The above estimate by Wu Chên, who as a painter was something of an opposite to Su Han-ch'ên, may also apply to the picture in the Museum of Oriental Culture in Moscow, which shows four boys occupied in a playful commemoration of the First Bath of Sakyamuni Buddha, a ceremony which is performed in China at the beginning of the sixth month. The small actors, who are hardly more than three or four years old, perform the ceremony with great dignity and care. One of them is holding in his outstretched hand a statue of the new-born Buddha (taking his first step), while a comrade sprinkles water on the statuette, another is bringing flowers in a bowl, and a fourth is kneeling in adoration, thus imitating what actually takes place on such occasions. The transformation of the ceremony into a children's game substitutes humour for solemnity and, without being really irreligious – the children are too serious for that – reveals an attitude of mind towards such ancient, traditional ceremonies which would hardly have been possible at an earlier date. The picture is signed, Han-ch'ên, and is said to be executed with the care and refinement of a Sung painting.¹

A different kind of picture, signed by the master and distinguished by the technical perfection of a real Sung work, belongs to the Museum in Boston. The scene is here again a garden terrace, but there are no playing children, only a young lady who is sitting on a low bench in front of her dressing-table, and a youthful maid standing at her side, ready to carry out every wish of her mistress. On the table is an array of various toilet boxes, a vase of flowers and a large mirror in which the face of the young beauty is reflected in accordance with an arrangement known from so many ladies' portraits of the Ming and Ch'ing periods. A single branch of a blossoming plum-tree stretches out like a greeting of spring from the rockery at the edge of the picture. She is sitting quite still, may be listening, or dreaming of spring nights on the West Lake (Pl. 270).

This art of subtle innuendo or suggestiveness which makes Su Han-ch'ên's paintings of the

Hangchou beauties so attractive, is well brought out in a few lines by Têng Ch'un in *Hua Chi* by which also the painter's historical position is indicated:

"The art of representing women consists in depicting the ways and manners of the inner apartments. Artists like Chou Fang and Chang Hsüan of the T'ang, Tu Hsiao and Chou Wên-chü of the Five Dynasties period and Su Han-ch'ên (of the Sung) could do this in a wonderful way. Their art did not consist in painting the rouge and the face powder, the golden ornaments and the jade pendants; they did not consider the representation of such things as art." In other words, it was not the attractiveness of their motifs or the prettiness of the ornamental details that endowed their illustrations from the women's quarters with the quality of exquisite works of art, but rather their faculty of transmitting something of the flower-like charm of Chinese femininity as it flourished in Hangchou during the warm sunset days of the Southern Sung dynasty.

* * *

Chao Po-chü, tzu Ch'ien-li, was mentioned in our account of painters whom Têng Ch'un enumerates as relatives of the imperial family.² He had been a member of Hui-tsung's Academy, and stylistically he stands much closer to the older generation than to the new currents which originated in Hangchou, but he was a favourite painter of Kao-tsung and continued his activity practically during the whole reign of the emperor (1127–1162). As an official he rose to the position of Keeper of the Imperial Seal and Governor (?) of Eastern Chekiang. The emperor employed him for the decoration of a big hall, the Chi-ying tien, a work which he executed together with his brother, Chao Po-su to the

¹ Cf. Dita Neuman, Une Peinture de Sou Han-ch'ên dans un Musée de Moscou in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, XIII, September 1938.

² *Hua-chi*, first section. Chao Po-chü is not included in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, but some information about his works is to be found in *Shu-hua fang*, vol. 10.

great satisfaction of the monarch. But most of his pictures, which included all kinds of subjects, from landscapes and flowers to portraits and Taoist figures, were executed on a comparatively small scale in a highly refined style based on studies of Li Ssü-hsün's and Wang Wei's works. Chao Po-chü seems to have been a distinctly conservative artist, highly skilled and well fitted to serve as an imperial court-painter.

His name has in later times been connected particularly with landscapes and illustrative paintings executed in the *ch'ing-lü pai* manner, i.e. with bright green and blue colouring (besides red and white) and gold outlines. This rather artificial method was evidently derived from Li Ssü-hsün's conventional landscapes, but Chao Po-chü developed it further by increasing the contrasts of gold and green, and gave by this the impetus to a type of painting which survived far into the Ming and later periods. Its obvious decorative merits gave it a broad appeal, but this involved also a gradual popularization and decline, so that later examples of the gold and green style sometimes have more likeness with silk fabrics, such as *k'o-ssü*, or with *cloisonnée* or lacquer work, than with pictures produced with brush and ink. But before we turn to a few examples of this kind of decorative painting, we must recall a somewhat different picture likewise ascribed to Chao Po-chü.

It is a large handscroll in the Hui-hua kuan in Peking, which represents chains of deeply folded rocky mountains with dry trees and winding streams at their foot, executed in blue, white and brownish tones on silk. The condition of the picture is now deplorable, since it is much worn and cracked, but the general character of the design and the tone and atmosphere of the rendering of this grand motif are impressive. It was impossible to learn whether the attribution is supported by a signature, but if this is the case, it may be said to lift Chao Po-chü to a somewhat higher level as a landscape-painter. The manner here too is rather archaistic, based on studies of T'ang painters, but it is not stereotyped

and serves well a great conception of the traditional motif (Pl.271).

Chao Po-chü's dependence on Li Chao-tao is illustrated by a fan-shaped small picture in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi* (Vol. III) representing certain lofty pavilions of a Han palace and a great number of small figures in front, where distinguished visitors seem to be arriving. As far as can be seen in the reproduction, this little picture is distinguished by a subtle charm and refinement which corresponds to a Sung transposition of a T'ang model (Pl.272). Other pictures in the same collection attributed to Chao Po-chü are less convincing as originals of the Sung period, yet worth remembering as illustrations of the various phases of the master's art. Thus the small picture of the A-fang palace, situated in a park at the foot of misty mountains, is a nice example of the very carefully executed architectural compositions for which Chao Po-chü became famous, while the picture of a fairy riding on a dragon over mountains and seas opens a view into the world of Taoist Immortals. Neither of these pictures is executed by himself, but both may be accepted – *faute de mieux* – as examples of his artistic propensities.

The most important of the various illustrative scrolls executed in the *ch'ing-lü pai* manner is the picture in the Museum in Boston which represents the First Emperor of the Han Dynasty entering the Ch'in capital. It bears the painter's seal and signature and no doubt represents his composition, but hardly his brush-work, the technical execution being schematically dry and hard. Everything is defined with colour and outlines, partly in ink and partly in gold, with a clearness that would stand considerable enlargement as if the pictures were composed for large wall spaces rather than as an illustrated picture chronicle. The artist has succeeded in conveying mass and movement by symbols and significant groups. The great victorious army which is marching along the winding mountain path is shown only in spots, most of it is hidden behind the high mountain ranges, but we get a vivid impression of its importance and steady progress from the

innumerable pennants and standards which are fluttering in long lines above the ridges of the green cliffs. The device has been utilized with remarkable success and made it possible for the artist to suggest large distances, space, and continuous movement within the frame-work of conventionalized clouds and mountains. In the second half of the picture the leaders of the army are galloping on horseback over the bridge and through the fortified gateway, passing into the palace city of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti, a dream-like place where nature and art are combined as freely as in a poetic legend. The high towers vie with the craggy cliffs, the terraces spread far over the water, and the clouds and mist circle like protective smoke-screens around the open pavilions. The final scene shows the Han emperor receiving homage from the kneeling palace ladies.

Chao Po-chü was no doubt a master of such illustrative picture-scrolls, in which historical events were translated into poetic chronicles, and actual observations blended into decorative designs of bright green, red, white, and gold. He painted, for instance, the emperor Ming-huang's historic journey to Shu (when the capital was sacked by An Lu-shan's soldiers), and T'ao Yüan-ming's famous tale about the Enchanted Peach-garden. Both these pictures were copied by Ch'iu Ying in the sixteenth century and by later artists. A long scroll which according to the signature and the colophon is Ch'iu Ying's copy after Chao Po-chü's famous picture *Ming-huang hsing shu* is in the Museum in Stockholm. The other Ch'iu Ying copy is mentioned with the highest commendations by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang; he valued it at a price equal to that of fifteen cities, and regretted that he had not enough money to acquire it. Most of Chao Po-chü's famous scrolls seem to have been of this kind; i.e. freely conventionalized landscapes with illustrative figures. He painted *The Fairies of the Lilacs*, *The Drug of Immortality*, *The Visit to the T'ai Mountain*, *Boats Coming out of the Gorges*, but also actual portraits, as for instance, *Su Tung-p'o in Contemplation on a River Bank* (*Tung-p'o yüeh shui t'u*) and studies of birds and flowers.

Chao Po-chü's younger brother Po-su, *tzü* Hsi-yüan was also a gifted painter, and is said to have followed Po-chü in his illustrative painting, but the only work by him which has come under my observation is a landscape scroll exhibited in Hui-hua kuan in Peking. It represents Pine-trees on a Hill in Moonlight, a motif not often encountered in Chinese painting, here rendered in a spotty manner with harmonies of soft brown tones.

* * *

Ma Ho-chih was evidently a highly gifted painter who made his own style and followed a road quite different from that of the academicians. He is recorded with admiration by most of the leading critics, only Tung Ch'i-ch'ang expresses some regret that he did not follow more closely the classic models of Li Lung-mien. From the numerous quotations reprinted in *Nan Sung yüan-hua lu* some of the most relevant may here be reported.

We are told that Ma's *tzü* and *hao* have been lost or forgotten; he came from Ch'ien-t'ang in Chekiang, acquired his *chin shih* degree in the Shao-hsing era (1132-1162) and lived for some time into the reign of Hsiao-tsung (1163-1189). He made an official career, reaching the position of vice-President of the Board of Works, but did not serve as a *tai chao* in the Academy of Painting. His artistic occupation seems to have been somewhat akin to that of the gentleman-painters; the main part of his productions consisted of ink drawings which he did for his pleasure, or to satisfy the emperor Kao-tsung, who esteemed him in particular as an illustrator of the Odes (from *Shih-ching*), which the emperor copied with his own hand. The imperial calligrapher is said to have written down about three hundred of these poems and ordered Ma Ho-chih to illustrate them, which he did to some extent, but passed away before the whole series was completed. This collaboration between the emperor and the painter forms, so to speak, the red thread in Ma Ho-chih's artistic activity and is referred to by most of the historians as his essential accomplishment.

The paintings were mounted in series of seven, ten or twelve, on scrolls with intervals in which the text of the poems was copied. Ch'ên Chi-ju, who saw one of the scrolls representing the Odes of Pin in the collection of a friend, makes the following remark about it: "The text to all the seven sections was written by the emperor Kao-tsung and added on; the emperor used to say: 'In practising calligraphy one should write the texts of the Classics, because in doing so one does not only learn the characters but also inhibits the mind from forgetting the Classics'. Whenever he wrote down the text of some Odes, he left an open space after (each Ode) and ordered Ma Ho-chih to fill these out with paintings."¹

Another scroll containing ten sections of text and illustrations to the Odes of Pin was described in a colophon by Wu Ch'i-chên as follows:

"The scroll in ten sections by Ma Ho-chih, representing the Odes of Pin, is painted on Ch'êng Hsin T'ang paper. The manner of painting is very delicate, fluent and unrestrained like sailing clouds and streaming water, and completely free from academic manners. On the spaces next to every painting the text of the poems is written by the emperor Kao-tsung in *k'ai shu* (model script). The movements of his brush are vigorous and the beautiful writing clearly displayed."

In describing the style and brush-manner of Ma Ho-chih as displayed particularly in these illustrative compositions, the critics emphasize his freedom from the fashionable elaboration common in academic circles and compare his brush-strokes to slender willow leaves or to the very long and sinuous leaves of the epidendrum plant (*lan hua*). The simile is well calculated to convey an idea of the long and wavy lines, which are so light and airy that they almost seem like freely fluttering (*p'iao-i*) leaves.

Chang Ch'ou made several attempts in *Shu-hua fang* (Vol.X) to characterize this easily floating airy brush-manner of Ma Ho-chih when describing pictures that he had seen or possessed, for instance: "I recently bought eight pictures of the Fêng and Ya Odes from the great-great grandson of the minister

Wu Yüan-po, which originally, at the end of Sung, belonged to Chuang Liao-t'ang and were later authenticated by Shên Chou. Although they are quite small and sketchy, they are extremely expressive. Ch'ên Chi-ju says that their style is wonderful and of a very high class; they might be placed on a level with Kuo Chung-shu's marvellous works; and may indeed be compared to a man who tastes no cooked food, quite unlike all others in appearance and manners, to use a good metaphor."

The writer expresses his admiration for Ma Ho-chih in several colophons, but at the same time he has some doubts in regard to still existing works ascribed to the master: "He was an excellent painter of landscapes which surpassed the works of other men by their pure and unrestrained style. In painting human figures he imitated the style of Wu Tao-tzu. His brush-work was fluttering and free, and he was much appreciated by Ssü-ling (Kao-tsung). The paintings of the Mao Odes which have been preserved are practically all copies."

The last statement by the discriminating Ming critic may indeed be observed as salutary caution; if practically all the pictures to the Mao Odes which existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century were copies, we can hardly expect to find many originals among those which have survived to our time. But we can at least discriminate between various degrees of artistic merit in the still existing examples.

According to the traditional rough indication, the emperor would have copied three hundred of the Mao Odes and ordered Ma to illustrate them; but this is evidently a gross exaggeration. The actual number must have been much smaller. The *Hui-shih pei k'ao* contains the statement that fifty-two paintings representing the Odes by Ma Ho-chih had been incorporated in the imperial collection, but besides these there must have been in the Ming period a certain number in private possession, because Tung Ch'i-ch'ang writes in his colophon to the scroll of Ten Odes of Ch'ên that he had seen

¹ *Ni-jen lu*, quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, III.

sixteen such scrolls of illustrations to the Odes by the emperor Kao-tsung and Ma Ho-chih. According to an annotation on the scroll of Seven Odes of Pin, formerly in the Manchu Household collection and now in Hui-hua kuan in Peking, there were fourteen scrolls of this kind in the Ch'ien-lung collection.

The interest of these and other statements referring to the number of such scrolls existing at various periods is mainly in the fact that they tend to prove that the number varied, probably as a result of copying and duplicating the pictures at different times. This practice seems to have flourished in the Ming period when Chang Ch'ou and Tung Ch'ich'ang wrote their encomiums of Ma Ho-chih (and possibly earlier), and it explains the above-quoted statement as to the complete want of originals by the master. A more penetrating analysis of the problem is hardly possible owing to the scantiness of the still existing material, I can only mention here a few examples of various kinds of such scrolls which have come under my observation.

I.A. Boston Museum (formerly Ch'ien-lung). Six (originally ten) Odes of P'ei in the Hsiao-ya Section. Ink and slight colouring on silk. Colophons by Wên Chêng-ming, dated 1547 and by Ch'ien-lung, 1770¹ (Pls. 275-278).

I.B. Hui-hua kuan, Peking (formerly Ch'ien-lung). Seven (originally ten?) Odes of Pin. Ink and slight greenish and brownish colours on silk. Colophons by Tung Ch'ich'ang and Ch'ien-lung. The same compositions are repeated in a scroll belonging to C. T. Loo's successor in New York. This has no Ch'ien-lung seals or colophon, but a number of later seals including that of Mr. C. C. Wang (Pls. 279, 280).

I.C. Yurinkan (Fujii collection), Kyōto. Twelve Odes of T'ang in the Ta-ya section. Ink and slight colour on silk. Some portions of the picture are badly damaged. The measurements: 25 × 86.7 cm.

II.A. C. T. Loo's successor, New York. Ten Odes of Ch'ên in the Kuo-fêng section. Ink and slight colour on silk. Seals of Ch'ien Lung and later men.

Colophons by Tung Ch'ich'ang, dated 1602 and by Ch'ien-lung. The same paintings, inscriptions and colophons are repeated in a scroll formerly in the Manchu Household collection and reproduced in a series of thirty-five photographs by the Yen-kuang Co. in Peking. It has only a Chia-ching seal and is not of early date.

II.B. Ueno collection, Kyōto (published as a scroll by Hakubundo). Twelve Odes of T'ang in the Kuo-fêng section. The picture has a great number of Hsiang Yüan-pien's seals and is executed in a somewhat broader pictorial manner than the other scrolls.

The ink sketches which serve as illustrations in these scrolls have as a rule only a vague generalizing connexion with the accompanying text. As an example may be recalled the Ode from the Hsiao-ya section:²

"On the southern hills are the *t'ai* plants,
on the northern hills the *lai* plants.
Happy be the Lord!
He is the foundation of the State.
Happy be the Lord!
May his years be without end!" etc.

The illustration to this shows a rocky promontory with leafy shrubs jutting into the water where two men in small boats are occupied in catching fish in baskets. A few birds are soaring above, opening the sky, so to speak. Here as in several others of these illustrations the artist has found occasion to transpose the simple elements of nature description contained in the poem into an intimate landscape sketch based on actual observation. The appeal of Ma Ho-chih's illustrations depends to no small extent on his feeling for the life-breath of nature, his sensitiveness to the rustle of the leaves and the ripple of the waves. He was something of a romantic nature worshipper like the great Yüan painters -

¹ Cf. the article by K. Tomita and Kaiming Chiu, *Scroll of Six Odes from Mao Shih in Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston*, October 1952.

² Boston Museum Bulletin, *op. cit.*

Huang Kung-wang and Wang Mêng – who understood him and praised him greatly.

This was the most lovable side of his art as may also be observed in our illustrations. The scenes in which the figures are placed in landscapes with blossoming trees, running water, pavilions and boats are far more attractive than the compositions with figures scattered over an empty background. His figures are always alive, but the individual expressiveness is slight.

The scrolls mentioned above may indeed, as indicated, be classified in two or three different grades with a view to their more or less distant connexion with the Sung painter, a distance that broadly speaking may be measured in a gradually increasing lack of quality and deterioration of the brush-work. Yet even the most superficial and weakest among them have retained something of that airy and fluttering manner said to have been characteristic of Ma Ho-chih; in other words, they reveal a common origin or inspiring source, but while the best among them, such as the pictures in the Boston scroll, charm us by their atmospheric beauty and pictorial intimacy, the scenes in the Ueno scroll are written down quite superficially with more speed than inspiration in a brilliantly loose and light manner.

Ma Ho-chih also painted landscapes of a more complete kind. Some of them are recorded, others ascribed tentatively to the master, but as far as I know, there is only one which may be accepted as his own work. The picture which was exhibited (1954) in Hui-hua kuan is an illustration to Su Tung-p'o's prose poem *The Red Cliff*: Four men in a long boat are passing a small cliff at the head of the picture; the rest of the composition is simply open

water which is indicated by a slight ink wash, but the suggestion of water and sky opens the view into a limitless space. It is a motif that has tempted more than one of the great landscape-painters in Hang-chou; they have all sought to evoke an impression of infinity (space without frontiers), but none of them has reduced it to visible expression on a scroll with lighter touches of the brush.

But more academically minded critics sometimes found the master's brush-work too light. T'ang Hou, who wrote his *Hua-chien* about 1360, could not suppress a slight depreciatory tone in his estimate of his elegant but rather fugitive manner:

"Ma Ho-chih did his human figures beautifully with easily flowing and sweeping strokes of the brush, and the people of the time called him the little Wu. If he had only been able to throw off all that is vulgar and paid more attention to the noble and old-fashioned (models), no other artist could have reached him."

To the above account of still preserved paintings by Ma Ho-chih may be added a few words about two excellent small pictures which hitherto have remained practically unknown. They form parts of a large album of Sung and Yüan paintings in the Ku-kung collection and are both signed with minuscule script by Ma Ho-chih. One of them represents a Falcon in an Old Tree growing on a rocky shore; the other, A Bay at the foot of Misty Mountains, where fishes are seen swimming in the water and a stork soaring in the air. The technical execution in a soft *kung pi* manner is very refined and more finished than in the illustrative drawings described above and the conceptions have a tone of intimacy which reveals a master of the highest class.

The Ma-Hsia School of Landscape-painting

THE DEEPLY rooted and widely diffused fame of Chinese painting from the end of the Sung period is to no small extent based on the type of monochrome landscape-painting that flourished so abundantly at Hangchou and other art centres in the South towards the end of the twelfth century. Some of the leading masters who were active at the Academy at that time developed certain formulas or types of landscape-painting which, although to some extent tried or prepared by painters of earlier generations, had not as yet been brought to the same degree of formal definition and pictorial expression. The decorative designs and romantic appeal of these new formulas made them widely appreciated; their qualities were obvious and easily apprehended even by amateurs with no special experience in Chinese painting. The production of this kind of landscapes was consequently carried on (in more or less free individual transformations) not only to the very end of the Sung period, but also during the succeeding eras. It became something of a special current of style which Chinese critics in the Ming period, who were no longer inclined to accept the stylistic ideals of the Hangchou academicians, called by a misleading name the "Northern School".

The meaning of this will be further explained in our discussion of painting in the Ming period, but here may be added that the new orientation in the aesthetic circles in China at the time implied a growing indifference towards the works produced by the academicians and their successors of the "Northern School". This again made it easier for outsiders, such as the Japanese artists and collectors,

to acquire many of the most important specimens by Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei and their followers, which consequently left China. Something of the same attitude has lingered even to our day. It thus happens that more pictures of merit attributed to Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei, or their school, are today found in Japanese and American collections than in China, and that the literary records about these masters are not so abundant as those concerning their immediate predecessors.

Ma Yüan was the most famous member of a family of painters which had been active during several generations. The earliest fully recorded representative of this family was Ma Fên (whose art was discussed in a preceding chapter); his ancestors are said to have been painters of Buddhist subjects, but he was probably the first of the Ma who excelled in monochrome ink-painting and sought his motifs in nature. His son was Ma Hsing-tsu, who followed in the footsteps of the father, specializing likewise in birds and animals. He served as a *tai chao* in Kao-tsung's Academy, and is said to have been much esteemed by the emperor, who consulted him on the pictures which were acquired for the imperial collection. Among the paintings attributed to him may be mentioned in particular an album-leaf representing a Small Bird on a Lotus Plant intently observing a dragon-fly. It is a charming little picture, perfectly spaced and executed in the most refined and elegant academic style.¹

Ma Hsing-tsu had two sons, Ma Kung-hsien and Ma Shih-jung, who both became *tai chao* in the

¹ Reproduced in *I-shu ch'üan t'ung*, Pt. VII, 2.

Academy and received the distinction of the Golden Girdle. They painted flowers, birds, figures, and landscapes, preferably in monochrome ink, and were active about the middle of the twelfth century (up to 1160 or a little later). The style of Ma Kung-hsien may still be observed in a picture in Nanzenji, Kyōto, which bears his signature. It represents the Discussion between the hermit Yao-shan and the Philosopher Li Ao (of the T'ang period), but its main artistic motif is a tall pine-tree, growing at the one side of the composition and stretching its jerky branches right across it (Pl.281). The design is of the same type as we shall find in some of Ma Yüan's pictures, though emptier, more matter-of-fact, and without their power of poetic suggestion.

Ma Shih-jung's paintings have not survived, but he is remembered as the father of the two great painters Ma K'uei and Ma Yüan, who represented the fourth generation of the Ma family, while the fifth and last generation was represented by Ma Yüan's son Ma Lin.

The two brothers must have been closely associated as painters; they were both born about the middle of the twelfth century, and continued their activity until about 1224. Ma K'uei was the older but less gifted of the two. The paintings which are ascribed to him are mostly diluted editions of the brother's works; yet there are one or two very remarkable examples among them, *i.e.* landscapes of deep poetic inspiration, though we are told that Ma K'uei reached his greatest fame as a painter of birds. The best-known specimens are all in Japan, brought over as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (like the works of Ma Yüan), for instance, the two tall compositions representing A Man Playing the *Ch'in* under a Pine-tree on a River-bank (formerly in Count Tokugawa's collection, *Kokka* 196) and Lin Ho-ching Admiring the Plum-blossoms, in the Iwasaki collection (*Tōyō*, viii, Pl. 40), and furthermore, the landscape in Chishaku-in of Daitokuji in Kyōto (*Kokka* 236), which, however, looks like a later creation in the manner of

Hsia Kuei. The most intimate and suggestive of all the pictures ascribed to Ma K'uei is the little fan-shaped painting, until lately in the collection of Mr. Magoshi Kyōhei in Tokyo, representing Two Men in a Boat on an Evening Lake.¹ It is one of those exquisitely simple compositions where the painter with the greatest economy of means has suggested something beyond definition – a reflection of infinity, an echo of the deep harmony between man and nature which only true poetry, in words or symbols of painting, may convey. There is little to be described or analysed in a picture like this: A projecting stone, a few reeds, a boat with two men, and the faint silhouette of mountain tops in a misty background. Most of the picture is empty silk ground, but it is nevertheless full of significance, an unfathomable source of peace and beauty. If Ma K'uei actually painted this, as claimed by tradition, he must have been a poet hardly inferior to his more famous brother (Pl.283).

Ma Yüan, *hao*, Ch'in-shan, became a *tai chao* in the Academy during the reign of the emperor Kuang-tsung (1190-1194), and stood in great favour at court in the time of the emperor Ning-tsung, who conferred on him as well as on his brother the Golden Girdle. The emperor's sister-in-law, who, like the emperor himself, was a prominent calligraphist, was particularly fond of Ma Yüan's pictures, and used to provide them with poetic inscriptions. He was still active in the reign of the emperor Li-tsung (1225-1264), when he executed a picture of the Three Religions, but it seems probable that he died before the middle of the century. His artistic education was, no doubt, a matter of family tradition, but he is said to have followed Li T'ang most closely.

The old historians are all unanimous in praising the strength of his brush-work and in characterizing his designs as angular and unilateral, or what they called "side-horned" (cornered). One of them writes:²

¹ Reproduced in *Tōyō*, viii, Pl.41 and elsewhere.

² Quoted from *Tu-kung t'ao tsuan* in *Shu-hua fang*, vol.10.

"His brush-manner was severe and regular (*i.e.* firm). He used scorched ink in painting trees and rocks. The branches and leaves he painted with a compressed (squeezed) brush; the rocks he made sharp and angular with wrinkles like the scars of a big axe, using diluted ink for these parts. Complete views by him are not common; in his small pictures the tops of the high mountains are not visible and the steep cliffs reach right down, so that their bases are not seen. The near mountains touch the sky, but the distant mountains are low. He painted a single boat with a lonely man rowing on the moon-lit sea. Such were his 'side-horned' (unilateral) scenes."

The same characterization is repeated with slight variations by other chroniclers, but in addition to this some of them also offer remarks about his figures, buildings, and trees, as for instance, the following:¹

"In painting the garments of human figures he used lines like rat-tails in his small pictures, whereas in the larger ones he used lines like willow twigs; it made them look very dignified and beautiful. For buildings he used a foot-measure and painted them with colour very fine and clear.

"People say that Ma Yüan painted only unilateral compositions, because they have not seen many works of his. But in his big paintings which are to be found in Chekiang, there are steep mountains rising imposingly (in the middle) with streams winding around them and waterfalls between the trees partly hidden and partly visible. At the side of the mountains you see a far extending lowland with a wide expanse of water and beyond it the faint contours of a pagoda. It all makes up perfectly balanced (complete) pictures."

The same writer points out that "Ma Yüan made his pine-trees very tall and strong as if they were made of iron wire, sometimes he painted them with a stump brush; the effect of them is vigorous, beautiful and elegant."

But no less characteristic of the painter's style were the crooked and writhen trees which became so popular that the gardeners who made pine-trees

grow in this fashion were sometimes called Ma Yüan.

Several important pictures illustrative of the above-mentioned features are described by the old critics, but it seems hardly necessary for us to dwell on those which have not been identified; we may at once turn to such works as may still be seen. Some of these pictures (in Peking and Boston) are provided with apparently authentic signatures; in other cases the attributions are supported by historical tradition, which (in regard to some pictures in Japan) may be followed at least to the fourteenth century, and it must be admitted that they all bear the imprint of an individual style which may be considered characteristic of Ma Yüan. Since none of them is dated, it is hardly possible to reach a definite idea about the stylistic evolution within the work of the master, but we may group a few examples with regard to the character of the designs.

The compositional arrangement which is most common in Ma Yüan's works is the above-mentioned unilateral design, built up of steep cliffs and tall trees, which rise at the one side of the picture and project some sections or branches across the otherwise empty space. Famous examples of such designs are the two pictures formerly in Count Tanaka's and Marquis Kuroda's collections. The former represents a philosopher, accompanied by a servant boy, seated at a stone table under a huge pine, which grows along the side of the composition and sends out a branch diagonally across the narrow field.² In the other, which is known as a Moon-lit Night,³ the composition consists of an overhanging cliff, rising along the left side, from which a gnarled pine reaches out like a giant arm under the moon. The old man who sits on the terrace has turned slightly towards the background and is gazing at the moon, a small circular orb which in its loneliness serves to accentuate the wide, empty space. In the opposite corner stands the old man's servant. The figure is

¹ Quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. VII, p. 1 from *Shan-shui chia fa*.

² *Kokka* 202. Tōyō, VIII, Pl. 43.

³ *Kokka* 160. Tōyō, VIII, Pl. 44. *Shimbi Taikwan*, VIII, etc.

here, as in so many of Ma Yüan's pictures, the epitome of the whole motif, representing, as it were, the mind of the painter from which the vision is reflected. It gives an introspective touch to the presentation, which thus gains a significance beyond that of the decorative design and the tonal values. The artist suggests infinity not only by utilizing empty space as a potent factor in the composition, but also as a reflection in the soul of man. The two elements of the conception—man and nature—are completely fused into a harmonious unity (Pl. 284; the picture is now in the Hakone museum).

Similar designs are repeated in several minor pictures among which may be quoted the beautiful example in the Palace Museum representing some white herons on a shore under an overhanging cliff from which a twisted tree is growing out in horizontal curves.¹ The contour of a steep cliff gives relief to the background, but its top is cut off. A light cover of white snow accentuates the contrast of the bold ink-lines. This very effective picture is provided with Ma Yüan's signature.

Two minor fan-shaped pictures in the Boston Museum may also be recalled here in which the horizontal extension of the unilateral design is predominant. In the more important one, which bears Ma Yüan's signature, the human motif is doubled: the sage under the branch of the far-spreading old plum-tree receives a visitor; but no words are spoken. The two men remain reverently at some distance from each other, seated in contemplation, listening to the silent message of the plum-blossoms.²

Among the more centralized or "complete" landscape-compositions by Ma Yüan should be mentioned the large picture in the Iwasaki collection (Seikadō), where the steep towering mountains fill the middle part of the background and a cluster of leafy trees growing by the cliffs forms the central motif of the foreground.³ The wind is shaking the trees which bend over the promontory where a boat is moored; a man with a large paper-umbrella is hastening along the mountain path towards houses

which lie half-hidden in the mist at the foot of a precipice. The design is centralized, but towards the right side it reaches out into misty space where forms disappear (Pl. 285).

A more definitely centralized design dominates in the large picture in the Palace Museum collection which represents A Mountain and Tall Pine-trees in Snow.⁴ The background is crowded with precipitous mountains, which raise their sharply silhouetted white peaks through the heavy mist, reaching the upper edge of the picture, where some of them are cut off. At their base, on the terrace, are some beautiful pavilions (executed very carefully with ruler and foot-measure), partly hidden by leafy maples, while the two pine-trees seem to be vying with the mountains in height. Their trunks are immensely tall and slender, winding "like bent iron", and their characteristically angular and jerky branches form an intricate criss-cross pattern in front of the white mist and mountains. The bold exaggerations in the design, the spirited virtuosity of the brush-work, the striking contrasts of black and white (with some addition of colour) make this picture a rather decorative example of the Ma landscape-style. It is fully signed, provided with five imperial seals and recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*, but can hardly be regarded as one of the most convincing authentic works that bear the name of Ma Yüan (Pl. 286).

A more unusual design may be observed in the famous handscroll, now in the Art Museum in Cincinnati, Ohio. It illustrates the story about the Four Old Grey-Beards (*Ssü Hao*) who, at the time of the bitter wars between the Ch'in and the Han armies, retired to the Shang Mountains. Here in the wilderness, far from the turbulent world, they found peace, and leisure to pass their time collecting herbs and playing chess, as shown in the picture. Though the four men and their servant-boy form the

¹ *Ku-hung shu-hua chi*, vol. IX; on silk; size, 1 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 1 in.

² *Boston Portfolio*, Pls. 95-96.

³ *Kokka* 234. Tōyō, VIII, Pl. 42.

⁴ Cf. *Ku-hung*, vol. VIII; on paper; size, 7 ft. 9 in. × 3 ft. 1 in.

principal motif, they do not hold very prominent places in the composition; the main elements which fill most of the extensive horizontal field are the sharp rocks, the pine-branches, the blossoming shrubs and, at the very end, the rushing waters of a mountain torrent. In spite of its drawn out horizontal shape, the design may be called unilateral, because it is built up or concentrated at the one end of the scroll, which is filled with angular rocks and jerky pine-branches from an old writhen trunk that is visible only in part. The longest branches extend from there over more than half of the scroll, and their horizontal rhythm is continued in the leafless shrubs along the river, which bend down and stretch their jerky branches over the cliffs. The final accents in this continuous horizontal movement are applied in the waves, which rush between the rocks with the irresistible force of a spring-flood. The quiet old men occupied in playing chess or in contemplation of the flow of the water form a striking contrast to the vigorous rhythms with which the awakening of nature is portrayed (Pl.287).

The picture is no longer in the best condition; it has been rubbed and worn and is retouched in places (a minor section in the centre has been renewed); yet in other parts it has retained the firm hold of the master's brush. In painting the trunk and branches of the old pine and the angular rocks, he has used the *ts'a pi* and accentuated the solidity of the forms with strong contrasts of black and white. The method is the same as we have observed in Li T'ang's boldest paintings, a correspondence which serves to illustrate how important this old master was to the younger generation of landscape painters in Hang-chou. Ma Yüan's manner of painting was apparently a direct outcome of Li T'ang's brush-work, though modified in accordance with his more poetic temperament and his search for decorative effect.

This scroll besides its artistic merits has a considerable interest as an historical document, being accompanied by no less than forty colophons of the Sung, Yüan and Ming periods.

The pictures mentioned above are all more or less

remarkable for their brilliant brush-work and their expressionistic, though perfectly balanced designs, but beside these there are some minor paintings by Ma Yüan in which the virtuosity of the execution is less marked and the poetic significance more evident. Among these should be remembered the fan-shaped album-leaf in the Boston Museum which represents Early Spring with Bare Willows. There is a mountain range rising through light mist in the background, and at its foot a village which is almost hidden. The calm river which is winding down to the lower edge is spanned by a bamboo bridge, and on the spit of low ground that juts out into the river two bare willows sway their plumy branches like quivering tendrils. The atmosphere is suggested by subtle gradations of tone. There is a breath of morning wind touching the tops of the willows. The mist is slowly dissolving – otherwise no movement, no sound. Spring is still hesitating (Pl.289).

The last word in aesthetic economy, atmosphere and silence was reached by Ma Yüan in the famous picture representing An Angler on a Wintry Lake, now in the National Museum, Tokyo.¹ The flat-bottomed sampan is just large enough to carry the man sitting in its stern, bent over his fishing-rod. A few faint wavy lines along its side indicate the water. That is all. The rest of the picture is emptiness – a silent grey tone as of evening mist. Motifs like this may still be observed on the West Lake in Hang-chou; but seldom, if ever, did an artist grasp so much of their significance in so few strokes of the brush. Never was emptiness made more eloquent, or silence more palpable in a picture (Pl.290).

In addition to the landscapes with figures Ma Yüan also made boundary paintings of terraces and pavilions mostly seen as from above and carefully executed in every detail, so that they might almost serve as models for architects. "A Feast of Lanterns" in the Palace Museum collection may be mentioned as an example of this type of painting, and also the album-leaf in the Boston Museum, which represents a series of terraces or balustraded

¹ Reproduced in *Kokka* 23. Tōyō, VIII, Pl.46, etc.

platforms rising in successive steps to form a vantage point from which the surrounding mountains may be admired. The whole thing is lifted high up in the air; it is as if the painter would carry us to the edge of the sky or the borderland of infinity (Pl. 291).

No attempts to describe Ma Yüan's pictures will do justice to them. They reflect ideas that reverberate beyond form and dissolve into space. There may have been greater painters in China, but no one who with a few strokes of the brush transformed shapes of nature more completely into symbols of unseen reality.

It is evident that Ma Yüan's very striking mode of composition and his rather obvious and definite brush-manner induced many able painters to exhibit their skill in imitations. His name is consequently found on a fair number of landscapes as well as figure-paintings which are stylistically akin to his individual creations without being executed by himself.

The critical segregation of Ma Yüan's own works from those of his imitators is furthermore complicated by the fact that the painter towards the end of his life established a kind of co-operation with his son Ma Lin, who probably worked in his father's studio but did not possess the creative genius of the older master. He seems to have reverted, at least in part, to the earlier family tradition of flower and bird-painting and also to figure-painting, which he carried out in a somewhat rougher manner. In co-operating with his son, Ma Yüan seems to have been led by a desire to keep up the well-established artistic tradition and good name of the family. It is quite correctly stated in *Hua-shih hui k'ao* that "the artistic tradition of the Ma family, which had been handed down through several generations, reached its fulfilment in Ma Yüan. No other artist could come up to his level. Ma Lin's works were inferior to his father's, but Ma Yüan loved him very much and (sometimes) signed such pictures as satisfied him with the name of the son. In this way Ma Lin also became famous and was appointed a *chih hou* in the

Academy." But the author adds reassuringly that the picture to which he attached the above words, and which represented *Catching Butterflies in Spring* (a motif reminding us of Chao Po-chü) is "a work by Ma Lin himself".

If the remarks are accepted at their face value, it can hardly surprise us that the pictures signed "Ma Lin" appear somewhat uneven. There are some excellent minor landscapes among them, well worthy of the brush of the older Ma, but also pictures of a more ordinary type representing trees, birds and the like besides a few less attractive religious figures. Among the former should be remembered two or three of the album-leaves in the Boston Museum and the famous *Evening Landscape with Soaring Swallows* in the Nezu collection. The larger landscapes ascribed to Ma Lin are usually of a more traditional type while his figure-paintings with quasi-religious motifs are more original through their unrestrained realism. This may be observed in the large picture in *Myōshinji* (in Kyōto) which represents the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the shape of an old man seated on a crouching elephant. The picture is iconographically interesting but executed in a somewhat rough manner with slight addition of greenish and reddish colours, more common in the Yüan period than in the time of Ma Lin. Another example of the quasi-humorous attitude towards traditional religious motifs is the picture of *Han-shan and Shih-tê* in a private collection in Japan which, if actually done by Ma Lin, shows him as a precursor of the unrestrained Ch'an painters.

Reverting to some of the fully-signed landscapes of the Ma Yüan type, I should like to draw attention to the large album-leaf in Boston which represents a rocky shore with some slender willows and bamboos bending over the *Lady Ling-chao* (a Buddhist mystic), who stands shivering in the cold. The atmosphere is grey, the river bank covered with snow and the few leaves which remain on the shrubs are crumbled and dry. Standing there alone in the bleak surroundings she appears to have gathered

them all up within her consciousness; she makes us realize that the outward world exists only for the experience of the soul. The picture has the suggestiveness of Ma Yüan's most noble creations, but it is inscribed with Ma Lin's signature (Pl.292).

The same is true of the album-leaf in Boston which represents a man riding on a stag (followed by his servant with an umbrella) along the shore of a promontory where some gnarled trees are stretching far out as if they were trying to dip their leaves in the water. The design is unilateral, more or less in the same way as in so many of Ma Yüan's pictures, and the brush-manner is vigorous, but the signature reads again: Ma Lin (Pl.293).

Various specimens of a similar kind could be quoted, i.e. pictures almost on a level with Ma Yüan's works, but bearing the signature of Ma Lin. The most remarkable example of this class is the Evening Landscape in the Nezu collection, often characterized as the masterpiece of Ma Lin. The design is simple, almost as simple as in Ma Yüan's picture of A Fisherman on a Wintry Lake, but irresistibly suggestive, filled with the quiet mood of an early autumn eve. The tops of a rocky shore emerge at the one side of the picture and some streaks of land may be discerned in the far distance; the rest is water and sky, covered by a veil of light mist – suggestive rather than painted – but nevertheless reverberating with the life-breath of the evening. The swallows which circle over the water carry our thoughts beyond the limits of the view (Pl.294). The emperor Li-tsung may have felt something of this when (in 1254) in beautiful large characters he wrote the title of the picture as follows:

"The near-by mountains are autumn-coloured;
the swallows circling before the setting sun."

Ma Lin was no doubt the most direct and intimate pupil of his father but by no means the only one. There was a whole array of able painters who followed in the footsteps of Ma Yüan, but only a few of them are recorded in history, the anonymous works of this type being more numerous than those which can be ascribed to definite artists. One or

two examples may here be mentioned in passing.

Hsü Shih-ch'ang was apparently a somewhat younger contemporary of Ma Yüan, but no historical information about his activity in Hangchow or elsewhere has been transmitted. It is simply stated (in *T'u-hui pao-chien*) that he painted flowers and birds as well as landscapes. His stylistic dependence on Ma Yüan seems, however, quite evident in the effective landscape in the Freer Gallery, which is provided with his signature. It depicts a scholar's abode with a small garden, enclosed by a bamboo fence, at the foot of steep unilateral mountains, and has the typical lanky pine-trees and some bare willows.

Lou Kuan from Ch'ien-t'ang in Chekiang is better recorded (in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*), because he served as a *chih hou* in the Academy. He became known as a painter of flowers and birds as well as landscapes and was active mainly in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Two or three of his signed paintings are in Japan, such as the fan-shaped winter landscape reproduced in *Hikkōen* (now belonging to Mr. T. Nakamura, Tokyo). The high mountain peaks which dominate the view are of the same type as in some of Ma Yüan's paintings, and the same may be said of some of the tall pines surrounding the little homestead by the mountain lake. Though the picture has not the romantic suggestiveness of Ma Lin's or Ma Yüan's best works, it is pictorially attractive.

There must have been a number of gifted painters in Hangchow at the time who followed the style of the Ma-Hsia school, but their pictures are mostly unsigned and consequently difficult to identify. Two remarkable exceptions to this rule may, however, be noted here in passing, i.e. the large mountain landscape with a scholar's pavilion under jerky pines (in the Freer Gallery) which is signed Hsü Shih-ch'ang, and the fan-shaped picture representing a temple-pavilion at the foot of a rocky peak (in the Umezawa collection in Kamakura) which is signed: Wu Shu-ming. Neither of these two painters is known through any other works of importance, though

both seem to have been masters of great merit.¹

A somewhat later painter who followed the Ma Yüan path very closely and successfully was Sun Chün-tsê, from Hangchou, who was active at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. His pictures are found exclusively in Japanese collections, where they have been treasured as a kind of substitutes for the real Ma Yüans.² They often display a decorative elaboration of the buildings and costumes which may be attractive, but are completely devoid of the expressionistic quality of the great master's works.

* * *

If Ma Yüan was one of the two supporting pillars of the portal at the head of the avenue of Chinese landscape-paintings in the twelfth century, Hsia Kuei was the other. The two men are often mentioned together as co-founders of the so-called Ma-Hsia school of landscape-painting. They were practically contemporaries and related by their artistic ideals, though they expressed themselves differently in accordance with their individual temperaments.

Very little has been transmitted regarding Hsia Kuei's personal character and the dates of his life. We are simply told that he was a native of Ch'ien-t'ang (in Chekiang), that his *tsü* was Yü-yü and that he served as a *tai chao* in the Academy in the reign of the emperor Ning-tsung (1195-1224). Like most of the prominent academicians he received the Golden Girdle, but to judge by the general characteristics of his art, he was less apt than Ma Yüan for service at court. Most of the writers of the Yüan and Ming periods who offer some information about the artistic evolution of Hsia Kuei emphasize his close dependence on Li T'ang, the great master who formed the link between the North and the South Sung period, but he is also said to have profited by studies of Fan K'uan's landscapes and those of the two Mi.

A few quotations from the records collected in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu* may here suffice; most of them transmit the same facts:

"Hsia Kuei painted figures and landscapes with rich and glowing ink beautifully, as if they had been coloured. His brush-manner was original and independent and his ink flowed very freely. In his snow-scenes he imitated Fan K'uan." (*Hsi-hu chih yü*.)

The well-known Yüan painter K'o Chiu-ssü says practically the same thing in his colophon on Hsia Kuei's scroll *Returning Boats on a Clear Day on a River*, viz. "Hsia Kuei from Ch'ien-t'ang was a very original painter³ who used the ink very freely. Among the academicians who painted figures and landscapes was no one after Li T'ang who could surpass him . . . This scroll is painted with rich and flowing ink, and is just as beautiful as if it had been done in colour. He was perhaps even greater than Ching Hao and Kuan T'ung."

The great Ming painter Wên Chêng-ming wrote a colophon on the same picture, in which he characterized Hsia Kuei's art as follows: "He was a good painter of figures and landscapes. He used rich and glowing ink and obtained by it the effect of colours. His brush-work was independent and original, the reverberation of the life-breath abundant. His works were most extraordinary."

"He studied Fan K'uan. Some people have considered this scroll as a work by Wang Hsia; others have thought that it was by Tung Yüan or Chü-jan, or perhaps by the crazy Mi. The manners of all these masters are here blended and completed, which has been the cause of the various misleading attributions, but I find this work too beautiful to be ascribed to any of these masters. I know a gentleman who possesses more than five scrolls in his collection, but none of them is as good as this. This surpasses them all. First year of Chia Ching (1522) Wên Chêng-ming."

¹ The picture now in the Umezawa collection was formerly in the Hayasaki collection and is reproduced in *Tōdō*, Pl. 119.

² The best examples in the Iwasaki collection, the former Akimoto collection (*Kokka* 328, 381) and in the Nezu collection. The pictures are usually in pairs.

³ The term used by the two above and some other writers to characterize Hsia Kuei's independent and original manner is *ts'ang lao* or *ts'ang ku*.

Hsia Kuei was no less admired by Tung Ch'ang, though the great critic hesitated whether he should place the painter in the "Northern" or the "Southern" school (as we shall find in a later chapter). Tung Ch'ang's characterization is offered in a very elegant literary form:

"Hsia Kuei followed Li T'ang, but painted in a more terse and abbreviated manner, like that which the clay modellers call 'abbreviated modelling'. The idea of this is to work entirely independent of all moulds and to find a short-cut. And in making things fade away or disappear (in his paintings) he held the two Mis at the tip of his brush (he did it just as well as the two Mis). Most painters destroy the square to make a round (of it), whereas he carved the round to make a square of it."¹ (Dated 1627.)

Other critics have tried to characterize Hsia Kuei's artistic style more in detail by describing his brush and ink and his way of using them, as for instance, in the following lines from *Shan-shui chia fa*:

"Hsia Kuei painted the twigs (tips) of the trees with a squeezed brush; the branches he made like cloves, the leaves he painted likewise with a squeezed brush. The faces and the eyes of the figures he put in with dots. The folds of the garments and the leaves of the willows he did in an abrupt and sketchy manner. For the high buildings and pavilions he used no foot measure or ruler but relied simply on his own hand in doing them. His manner of painting was very bold and resolute, yet everything was carefully rendered and the resonance of the life-breath was excellent. He should, indeed, be esteemed as one of the most famous men of the age."

The above characterizations must here suffice; they contain the essentials which are more or less clearly expressed in most of the writings about Hsia Kuei which are reported in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*.

His mastery of the brush and fluent way of painting resulted no doubt in a very large production, but as his fame and popularity were growing, they also gave rise to an increasing number of

imitations. Some of these must have been done by highly gifted painters, who were able to render the general characteristics of Hsia Kuei's style, even though the brush-work may be a little cruder or more cursory than in the master's own works. The pictures which pass under his name contain as a rule the formal script of Hsia Kuei, which is easily recognizable, but it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the products of his own brush and those of his immediate and most successful imitators. The preparatory work for such a critical sifting of Hsia Kuei's *œuvre* is still wanting and cannot be accomplished as long as the pictures which pass under his name in China and some in Japan are inaccessible to students. My observations are mainly based on pictures which I have seen within the last two years in American and Japanese collections and on a few reproductions from Chinese collections.

Several of these pictures are provided with signatures which have been differently interpreted and have given cause to discussions among specialists.² The rather freely or arbitrarily written characters have been, by some critics, read as Hsia Kuei, while others have denied that they signify the painter's name. If we accept the opinion of the former, we must, however, at the same time remember that the signatures are not all exactly of the same form and quality, but show differences that may indicate that they were not all written by the same hand. The problem is too intricate to be discussed here in detail, but a few indications may be useful.

One of the finest pictures in this group, representing a clump of tall bamboos bending over a low shore where a man on a donkey, followed by his servant on foot, is approaching (in the Asano collection in Odawara), has a signature consisting of

¹ Reference to *Shih-chi, Ku-li chuan*, where the expression, "to destroy the square to make it round" implies the polishing of a man's original nature or character so as to make it fit a place.

² Cf. Tanaka Toyozō, "Plum-blossoms in a Bamboo-grove", *Tōyō Bijutsu Tansū*, p.174, etc., and the somewhat diverging suggestions by Dr. S. Shimada in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 165.

one single character which may be read "Hsia". It is placed low down in the left-hand corner, and the completing character may have disappeared when the picture was trimmed (Pls. 297, 298).

It has been suggested by Tanaka Toyozō that the picture is inspired by a famous line from a spring-poem by Su Tung-p'o containing the words: "a slanting branch stretches out of the bamboo grove", i.e. the first greeting of spring reaching out from the winter-green bamboos. The man who is riding on the donkey may be in search of this token of spring so eagerly coveted by the poets. He is lifting his whip, urging on the little donkey towards the fenced spot where the old plum-tree is growing. An atmosphere of freshness and expectancy fills the whole picture; it is reflected in the illustrative interpretation of the poem as well as in the brush-work which is sparkling with vigour and life. The innumerable leaves of the swaying bamboos are painted with short and quick touches as if the brush had been moving with the wind, while the low shore is spread with light washes fading into the background, and the figures act as expressionistic accents to the illustrative theme.

The same somewhat loose way of forming the "Hsia" character may also be observed in the signatures on the fan-shaped album-leaf representing Wind-shaken Trees on a Promontory (which forms part of the *Hikkōen* album; Pl. 299), and also on the two famous pictures known as The Rain-storm (formerly in the Kawasaki collection) and The Man with a Staff on a Mountain Path (in the Fujita collection, Ōsaka). On these pictures the signature is complete, consisting of two characters, though the second (*Kuei*) is even more contracted than the first. On the album-leaf it is so fugitively written that it is hardly legible. The pictorial beauty of the small painting is however remarkable, even though it has lost something of its original brilliancy.

The Rainstorm has sometimes been hailed as one of the peaks in Hsia Kuei's production, comparable to some of Rembrandt's dramatic landscape drawings. The very brush-work seems here to reflect the

violence of Nature's sudden outburst of temper. The leafy trees are pressed down by the wind over the thatched roof of the pavilion in the mountain gorge; their writhing branches are torn and their leaves tossed and shattered, driven like snow-flakes on the wind. A man with a large umbrella is struggling against the storm on the pile-bridge that leads over the stream, another is crouching scantily protected in the open pavilion. The background is mist, except for the ridge of a high mountain on which some small trees are tossing like feathers in the storm. And all this seems to be painted almost with the speed and strength of the hurricane. The signature may be read without much hesitation as Hsia Kuei (Pl. 301).

The picture representing A Man with a Staff on a balustraded path that winds around the corner of a steep precipice has sometimes been indicated as a pendant or a companion piece to the Rainstorm, which, however, may be due more to the corresponding size and proportions of the pictures than to its artistic quality or significance. This second picture is a more ordinary unilateral composition with a long pine-branch extending from the mountain wall over the figure, more or less as in some of Ma Yüan's pictures; and the open background where a faint mountain silhouette and still more indistinct stripes of water are scarcely visible, appear rather empty. If Hsia Kuei painted this too, as indicated by the signature, he was apparently at that moment less inspired than when he did the Rainstorm. It does not reflect the same complete absorption into a mood of nature as the Rainstorm; the painter seems to have been looking at the scenery more from the outside like the man with the staff in the picture (Pl. 301).

Proceeding with our study of the pictures which bear Hsia Kuei's signature, we may note the two fan-shaped album leaves (formerly in the Akaboshi collection) which represent A Man Seated by a Waterfall and A Man Resting on the Border of a Whirling Stream (Pl. 302). The two pictures are well known through excellent reproductions in *Tōyō*

Bijutsu Taikan, and remarkable for their decorative designs, rendered with clearly defining, not to say gripping, brush-strokes. They are products of superior skill, but reveal no such touches of pictorial transposition or tonal values as would serve to create an atmosphere. The conspicuousness of the very large but loosely written signatures does not contribute to increase our confidence in the pictures as products of the master's brush. The final word about pictures with this kind of signature must be left to more specialized students of Hsia Kuei's art; we note them here as works in the manner of Hsia Kuei and probably of his time.

It is impossible to pass in review all the more or less characteristic pictures which generally are accepted as Hsia Kuei's works, and it may not be necessary in this summary study, because as a rule they show the general imprint of his style, even if the brush-work in some cases (as already pointed out) may cause some hesitation as to the master's share in the execution.

The handscroll in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City must, however, be recorded as a particularly interesting example. It contains four River-views, some with fishermen, which formed the end of a longer scroll, known as *The Twelve River-views*, which has been commented upon and appreciated by several prominent critics of Ming and later times. Kao Shih-ch'i's description in *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia lu* (1693) contains the following information: "It comprises twelve scenes, each one with a title written by the emperor Li-tsung and the small double dragon seal, beside the large palace seal. At the beginning and on the borders at the end of the picture are three seals of the Sung and five of the Yüan dynasty. The silk is fine and strong, well-preserved. The brush-work free and beautiful (correct), the composition clear and spacious. It is the best (of Hsia Kuei's works) that I have seen." The author quotes all the twelve titles written by the emperor, but only four of them may also be read on the portion of the scroll in the Nelson Gallery, viz. *Flying Geese over Distant Mountains*, *Returning*

to the Village in Mist from the Ferry, *The Clear and Sonorous Air of the Fisherman's Flute*, and *Boats Moored at Night in a Misty Bay*. The signature reads: Painted by the Servant Hsia Kuei (*ch'ên Hsia Kuei hua*), indicating that the picture was painted for the emperor. The script is quite clear and legible, though not the same as we have observed in some of the other signatures (Pls. 303, 304).

The picture is accompanied by three colophons written on a separate sheet of paper, the first by Shao Hêng-chêng of the Hung-wu period, the second by Wang Ku-hsiang, dated 1562, and the third by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (dated 1627), who gives the most original characterization of the master.¹ The two earlier writings are largely biographical, but the three experts agree in eulogizing the scroll as a work by Hsia Kuei, and there can be no doubt that the picture now in the Nelson Gallery is the last portion of this same scroll.²

It is executed with a light and swift brush in a fluent manner. The design is open and airy, most effective in the intervals between the dark silhouettes of trees and cliffs where water and sky are melting into limitless space and some small fishing-boats are moving silently like dark shadows in the dusk. The fisherman who plays the flute in one of them is seen only from the back, but we seem to be listening to a distant air that throbs across the silent waters. To describe a picture like this in words will always be a futile endeavour, because its meaning and expressiveness depend less on the things that are represented than on what is implied or suggested beyond or between the visible forms. Such unseen but potent qualities must be discovered by every student for himself; they will bring him enjoyment and a measure of conviction as to the artist in due proportion to his experience and power of penetration.

In discussing Hsia Kuei's art we are obliged, as said before, to keep on general lines, because his

¹ Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's colophon was quoted above.

² A copy of the complete original composition, also provided with Hsia Kuei's signature, forms part of the Ada Small Moore collection at Yale University.

ideas and tendencies of style are quite evident in many interesting pictures which obviously are not painted by himself. As an example should be mentioned the long scroll (c.34 feet) in the Ku-kung collection, known as *Ch'ang-chiang wan-li t'u*, The River of Ten Thousand Miles, or Ten Thousand Li of the Yangtse River. This big scroll, which was included in the London Exhibition of 1936, has been reproduced in a separate album (published by the Palace Museum in 1931) together with its colophons and some historical notes. The earliest inscription on the picture is by K'o Chiu-sü of the Yüan period (1340), who attributes it to Hsia Kuei, and there are also some seals of the same period, but no signature in spite of claims to the contrary by Kao Shih-ch'i, who has written several *t'i pa*s to this picture (dated 1693, 1698 and 1700) in which he refers to three earlier colophons, i.e. by Wang Lo-yü, Lu Shên and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, no longer existing in the original but preserved in print in *Shan-hu wang*. He also expresses the opinion that the picture really illustrates a poem about Boats of Pa coming out of the gorges.¹ Kao Shih-ch'i's ideas about the picture seem to have changed with the course of time and are thus somewhat confusing, whereas the *t'i pa* by Wang Lo-yü (1467) contains a description which in a general way fits this picture. He tells how it starts from the whirling springs in the Min mountains which then gradually unite in a broad river flowing down in a quieter tempo; then follow stretches where fishing-boats are moored along the banks and small inns are nestled in the misty groves, while blackbirds are gathering in the trees. The writer praises the wonderful exactness of the picture which, however, ends with wide stretches of open water where some fishing-boats are scattered in grey mist.

The references to the historical records concerning this famous picture can hardly be said to increase our confidence in Hsia Kuei's authorship, nor is a critical examination of the actual brush-work apt to modify our conclusion as to the master. It may be admitted that this very long scroll is a brilliant

performance, a *tour de force* inspired by a close study of Hsia Kuei's manner which here has been enhanced into a still more striking mode of fluent brush-strokes and ink-tones which change from jet black into silvery grey. The painter who was responsible for this picture was certainly an accomplished master of the brush; he may almost be said to have superseded Hsia Kuei in sheer technical dexterity, but the effort is more obvious than the inspiring touch.

The distance between this picture and Hsia Kuei's individual creations becomes obvious if we compare it with the smaller scroll (27 ft. long; formerly in the so-called National Museum in Peking) called *Chi Shan Ch'ing Yüan t'u*, A Far-off Clear View over Streams and Mountains, which by its design as well as through its technical execution stands out as the most perfect example of the master's art.

The design forms a continuous diorama of river and mountain scenery where the changing motifs merge into one another as do the various parts of a musical composition. The atmosphere is like an ocean of tone from which the waves of melody arise to sink again, harmoniously resolved: rocky shores, mountains with pine-forests, overhanging trees, small huts shaded by shrubs, bamboo-bridges connecting the promontories, and water, sometimes narrowing into straits or forming deep bays, sometimes broadening into a shoreless sea where distant sails are lost in mist. All is rendered in tones of black ink, which glows in the deep shadows and becomes almost transparent in the light parts. The brush-strokes are sometimes short and cutting, sometimes like dashes of ink, modified according to the motifs, but always reflecting the firm hand and the inspired mind. The result is an astonishingly rich and expressive symphony of black and white, where the motifs appear and disappear again, suggesting the immeasurable expanse and the ceaseless change of nature. The particular advantages of the horizontal scroll composition have been fully utilized. The

¹ Cf. *Chiang-t'sun hsiiao-hsia lu*, vol.III, pp.30, 31, and the Palace Museum album of 1931.

picture may, indeed, be remembered as one of the most perfect examples of this type of Chinese landscape-painting. It confirms our impression that Hsia Kuei's landscapes must be counted among the most perfect specimens of Chinese painting that have survived, though they show perhaps less variations than the landscapes of some of the older masters (Pls. 305-307).

Chinese critics of the Ming period and later times seldom fail to mention Hsia Kuei and Ma Yüan together, placing them so to speak side by side. This is characteristically expressed by the doctor and

amateur painter of the Hung Wu period, Wang Li, who in discussing the landscapes of the two masters wrote as follows:¹

"Their paintings may sometimes be rough, yet they never become vulgar; they may be exceedingly delicate, yet they are not simply superficially seductive. Their resonance (*i.e.* of the life-breath) is pure and far-reaching, surpassing that of all common things; both were (as painters) free from the stupid and muddling manners of the dusty world."

¹ Cf. *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang*, vol. 10, p. 38.

Figure and Landscape-painters in Hangchou and Yenching

THE ARTISTIC activity in the Academy of Painting during the reigns of the emperors Ning-tsung (1195-1224) and Li-tsung (1125-1264) was not controlled exclusively by the leading masters mentioned in the previous chapters and their immediate pupils. There were a great number of other highly skilled, though perhaps less original painters who held prominent places in the academic circle and received the distinction of the Golden Girdle or the rank of *tai-chao*. Most of them painted landscapes, but there were also figure-painters and artists who specialized in birds and flowers, or in dragons and fishes. Their activities are more or less recorded, and some of them who gained popular fame have been much copied, but their still preserved individual creations are few.

Liu Sung-nien, who sometimes has been described as a competitor of Ma Yüan, entered the Academy in the Ch'un-hsi period (1174-1189), became a *tai-chao* in the Shao-hsi period (1190-1194) and was still active during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. He was a pupil of Chang Tun-li, the figure-painter mentioned in our chapter on Li Lung-mien, but followed in particular Chao Po-chü's *ch'ing lü* (i.e. blue and green) manner. He lived in Hangchou at the Ch'ing-po gate, which caused him to be called Liu Ch'ing-po or Liu An-mên, i.e. Liu of the Dark Gate. The emperor Ning-tsung conferred upon him the Golden Girdle and is said to have entrusted him with the task of preparing illustrations to the *K'eng-chih t'u*, the descriptive chronicle on silk production and rice

culture, though the records to that effect are of relatively late date.¹

Most of Liu Sung-nien's pictures seem to have been combinations of landscapes and relatively large figures, i.e. illustrations to legendary or quasi-historical motifs rendered either in ink with slight addition of colour or in the green and blue manner of Chao Po-chü. The romantic appeal is mostly absent, he did not possess Ma Yüan's faculty of animating a landscape with a single figure. The pictures may be entertaining as illustrations and firmly painted, but they have no individual life-breath that would give utterance to the figures or reveal an inspiration beyond the formal symbols.

According to contemporary records he painted Lao-tzü Riding on a Bull through the Han-kuan Pass, The Meeting on the Pien Bridge (at Ch'ang-an), The Nine Old Men on Hsiang shan, etc. They all contained some landscape scenery, but the figures in them were most prominent. To this class may also be counted two of the scrolls catalogued among Liu Sung-nien's works in the former National Museum in Peking, i.e. Barbarian Chieftains presenting Tribute to the Chinese Court (possibly inspired by one of Yen Li-pên's compositions) and The Eighteen Immortals Assembled in the Jade Hall on the Isle of the Blessed, but in spite of all the signatures, seals, and colophons on these pictures, they did not impress me (when I saw them

¹ This tradition is transmitted in the *Hua-shih hui-yao* (1631), but according to Paul Pelliot it lacks historical foundation. Cf. *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, I (1913).

in 1929) as originals of the period. The same applies also to the landscape scroll *Wan ho sung feng t'u* (Ten Thousand Ravines and Wind-swept Pines) in the same collection which is executed in a crude *ch'ing liu* manner.

One or two of the pictures reproduced in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi* are more convincing as works of the period and probably by the master. I am thinking in particular of the landscape with figures and architectural accessories of unusual refinement (Vol.XIX). The central motif here is a pavilion built over a mountain stream in which two scholars are seated in conversation. The pavilion is framed by a tall pine-tree growing on the rocky promontory which bends over the building like a gigantic wing. The atmosphere is vaporous, but two peaks are rising out of the mist. The design is somewhat related to Ma Yüan's unilateral compositions, though its one-sidedness is modified by the introduction of the pavilion (Pl.308).

The influence from Li T'ang's manner of painting is obvious in the treatment of the sharply cut and split rocks, which are painted with a squeezed brush (*ts'a pi*), though not so boldly as in Li T'ang's or Hsia Kuei's works. The same technical tradition may also be observed in the tree-trunks, but here modified by a peculiar emphasis on the structural quality which also betrays itself in the box-like three-dimensionalism of the somewhat prominent pavilion.

The other picture ascribed to Liu Sung-nien in the former Palace Museum which should be mentioned at this place, is an example of his illustrative paintings with historical background. It represents five worthy gentlemen gathered on a garden terrace and occupied in reading and conversation. According to the notice in *Ku-kung shu-hua chi* (Vol.XXXVIII) the picture corresponds to the third section of Liu Sung-nien's scroll representing the Eighteen Scholars of the T'ang dynasty, which is no longer preserved, but known through literary descriptions. This explains the somewhat fragmentary character of the composition. There is room only for one large tree

on the terrace beside the rectangular table around which the scholars are assembled, assisted by their servants who take out scrolls from a large case, help them with their clothes and the rinsing of their mouths (?), etc. The traditional motif has thus received a touch of humour, which makes it more entertaining (Pl.309).

A notable feature in this and some of the other paintings ascribed to Liu Sung-nien is the very careful rendering of all sorts of utensils and pieces of furniture, some of which seem to be of early type. Liu, like several others of the painters, was an assiduous student of antiquity and seldom missed an opportunity of introducing some reminiscences of early patterns and models. In some of his paintings he has reproduced, partly or completely, designs of T'ang masters like Yen Li-pên and Chou Fang and also prominent pieces of decorative pottery and furniture. His faculty of imitating the old masters was much appreciated by connoisseurs; Tung Ch'ich'ang praises it particularly in the following colophon on a landscape by Liu Sung-nien:

"When I first unrolled this scroll it seemed to me like a work by Fan K'uan (Chung-li) of the Northern Sung dynasty, but then I discovered Liu Sung-nien's signature among the rocks. The explanation (of my error) is that Liu Sung-nien rid himself of the characteristic manner of the Southern Sung painters and worked (in this instance) entirely in the style of Fan K'uan, whom he liked more than anyone else."

When Tung Ch'ich'ang liked a picture he seldom failed to point out that it had nothing in common with "the characteristic manner of the South Sung painters", e.g. the Ma Yüan school, but was an exponent of another current that had its main source in the art of the great landscape-painters at the very beginning of the Sung period. In the case of Liu Sung-nien this observation did not, however, convey the whole truth. Liu Sung-nien was certainly dependent on the Ma Yüan style, though not to the same extent or so exclusively as some of the other Hangchou painters; he was more of an

eclectic, and absorbed influences from various quarters. If a picture of his actually revealed some influence from Fan K'uan, it was no doubt transmitted by Li T'ang, whose importance in that respect was pointed out in an earlier chapter. Liu Sung-nien's faculty of absorbing stimulating elements from various sources was considered a great merit and favourably commented upon, for instance by Chang Yü, a well-known poet and statesman of the Hung-wu period, who wrote as follows on Liu Sung-nien's picture of The Nine Old Men of Hsiang shan.¹

"His pictures of human figures and his boundary (measured) paintings are just as wonderful as his pictures of trees, water and rocks. The painters of today usually reach their fame by concentrating on one special kind of subject, and earn some praise by this. But Liu was able to combine the abilities of all the different (specialized) artists, which indeed was a most difficult attainment."

The statement may be somewhat exaggerated but fundamentally correct as a characterization of Liu Sung-nien's artistic personality, but whether it should be considered a commendation or a criticism will depend on the reader's own attitude towards the snags of eclecticism in art. The Chinese were never afraid of repetitions or of borrowing from their predecessors.

The least pretentious but most attractive of Liu Sung-nien's preserved works are some small landscapes in the shape of fans or album-leaves. A good example of this class of painting is the oval fan in the Palace Museum collection representing a pavilion at the water's edge under some old snow-laden willows. It is signed and dated 1220.² Others of the same kind are in the Boston Museum; they represent river views between thickly wooded rocky shores. The wide expanse of tranquil water that opens beyond the straits and covers the major part of the picture is suggestively brought out in contrast to the thick leafage on the shores in the foreground. The design of this picture is remarkable for its balance, the two substantial portions being placed at the

opposite ends of a diagonal, which is marked by the strait. The influence from Li T'ang and Hsia Kuei is evident in the painting of the fissured rocks, but the plastic relief of the forms is more accentuated than in the works of the older painters (Pl. 310).

Liu Sung-nien was sometimes placed not only on a par with but above his contemporaries Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei, an estimate which, however, is not justified by such works of his as still may be seen. His skill as a man of the brush may not have been inferior to theirs, and his versatility as a transmitter of the time-honoured classic patterns or types may have been more marked than theirs, but he was not a creative genius of the same class as those two great protagonists of Southern Sung landscape-painting.

Li Sung started as a poor carpenter-boy but was adopted by the painter Li Ts'ung-hsün and made a successful career under the emperors Kuang-tsung, Ning-tsung, and Li-tsung.³ He was not one of the great creative personalities but an artist with a fine sense for space and rhythm of line. He became particularly known for his "boundary" paintings, which evidently were done after the models by Kuo Chung-shu and Chao Po-chü. A good example of this type of work by Li Sung is the picture in the Palace Museum called *Hsien ch'ou tseng ch'ing*, Immortals Calculating the Good Luck of some inquirers (*Ku-kung*, vol. XII). The main motif, from a decorative point of view, is a pavilion in the midst of vaporous clouds on the shore of the Great Jade Sea. In this pavilion are placed a group of Immortals who seem to be receiving inquirers, approaching on foot and on muleback. Their fortunes are told by the well-tried method or

¹ Cf. *Nan Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. VI.

² *Ku-kung*, vol. VI.

³ Li Sung is often mentioned as the master of a series of pictures (in one or two scrolls) illustrating Agriculture: *Fu-t'ien t'u*. The notice is found already in one of Chang Ch'ou's works (beginning of seventeenth century), and Ferguson (*op. cit.*, p. 134) claims to have seen three of these pictures by Li Sung. According to Paul Pelliot, the so-called *Fu-t'ien t'u* would have been a series of copies after some of the compositions included in *K'eng-chih t'u* and not original works by Li Sung. Cf. *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, P. Pelliot, *A Propos du K'eng T'ou*, Paris, 1913.

"drawing sticks", here it is performed by a small boy, and the scenery is a beautiful garden, but the execution of the picture is hardly earlier than of the Ming period.

Li Sung seems also to have had a special inclination for seascapes, which he painted in his own original manner. A famous picture of his, called *Watching the Tidal Wave*, was in the imperial collection. A minor but very attractive view of the sea is the fan-shaped painting with Li Sung's signature, now in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City. It represents a small boat or sampan with four occupants tossed about on rolling waves and trying to make their way out from a rocky beach. The stylization of the surging waves in long spiral filaments is a very effective decorative device and at the same time quite suggestive of the incessant movement of the boundless watery plain (Pl. 313).

* * *

The archaizing tendency becomes more and more noticeable in academic circles towards the end of the Sung period. The artists seem to have felt a growing need to lean on the classic models of earlier days, for their own creative vitality was ebbing and their horizon narrowing. But it was something more than the customary study of the old masters; they were not actually copied or closely imitated.

An interesting example of this tendency is the long handscroll in the Palace Museum in Peking painted by Mou I, and known as *Tao-i t'u*.¹ The picture, which consists of eight consecutive scenes, illustrates a poem by Hsieh Hui-lien (394-430), which describes how the women prepare clothes for their husbands who are away in the war. According to the colophon by the artist, the picture was executed between 1238 and 1240. The stout ladies in the successive scenes are all shaped after the well-known models of Chou Fang and wear typical costumes and hair-dress of the T'ang period. Owing to the execution in ink only on paper, the picture may be said to reflect a combined influence of Chou Fang and Li Lung-mien, though it should at the

same time be admitted that Mou I has handled the models very gracefully and composed a series of uncommonly intimate scenes.

Mou I, whose *tz'u* was Tê-hsin or Tê-ts'ai, was born c. 1178 and died 1243. His fame as a figure-painter was closely dependent on his faculty for imitating the old masters. A minor interesting picture of his which was in the Manchu Household collection represents an Old Taoist (Pl. 312).

Ch'ên Chü-chung also painted figures, profane as well as religious, but became particularly famous for his horses. He became *tai chao* in the Academy about 1201, and was sometimes honoured with the descriptive appellation "a reborn Han Kan". If the album leaf from the Manchu Household collection representing *A Man on Horseback Leading another Horse by a Rope*, is correctly ascribed to the painter, it must be admitted that the nickname had some justification. The picture is akin in spirit and design to works by the great T'ang master.

Another interesting picture traditionally ascribed to the painter in the Palace Museum collection represents *Wên Chi's Return to China*, i.e. the scene in the Mongol camp when she takes leave of her husband, the Mongol chief and her children, while the imperial envoy who is to conduct her back to the Chinese court is kneeling in front of the family group and some men in the official retinue are approaching with beautiful gifts. Lower down among the grassy humps some saddled horses are standing ready for the departure and loaded camels are seen in the passage between the hills further away. The figure groups, consisting of Chinese officials and servants as well as Mongols and their animals, detach themselves against the drab bare ground, a landscape which in its extreme simplicity has a definite atmosphere evoking an impression of the country beyond the Great Wall.

Motifs referring to the life and history of the Hsiung-nu, popularly called Mongols, and of the Tartars, who now were the masters in North China, became increasingly popular in the thirteenth

¹ Published as a scroll by the Palace Museum, Peking, 1936.

century and were usually represented in combination with actual scenes of national import. Descriptive texts such as the so-called Eighteen Songs of Wên Chi in which her romantic story, departure to Mongolia, life in the camp of the chieftain, and return to China are told, formed a welcome pretext for realistic pictures of this kind. There must have existed at the time several series of such illustrations, and at least one of these may have been executed by Ch'ên Chū-chung or a closely related painter. Four pictures of relatively large size which may have formed part of such a series are now in the Museum in Boston. They illustrate scenes from Wên Chi's life in Mongolia, her Farewell to her Mongol Family, and her Return to her Home-town in China. The pictures, which are painted with colours on silk, have no inscriptions or signatures, but the scenes from the Mongol encampment with the tents and the wagons, the horses and camels and the views over the bare sand-hills, remind us so closely of the picture by Ch'ên Chū-chung in the Ku-kung collection, that they may tentatively be ascribed to the same painter (Pl.315).

A complete series of all the eighteen illustrations to The Songs of Wên Chi, united in the form of a long scroll, were shown to me in the collection of Mr. C. C. Wang in New York in 1954. Among them were also four scenes corresponding to those in the Boston Museum, though not quite identical and somewhat smaller in size. The pictures were surprisingly well preserved and executed with great care in a more dry and hard manner than the Boston picture, and probably not by the same man, though stylistically related (Pls.316-318).

The popularity of these illustrative pictures in China is furthermore proved by the existence of a complete repetition of this scroll of eighteen pictures executed by a later artist (after the end of the Sung period). This was shown to me by Mr. Mayuyama in Tokyo in November 1954, when the picture was in need of skilful remounting.

Among other pictures which by their motifs are related to the illustrations to Wên Chi's songs may

be mentioned the album leaf in the Boston Museum which represents a Woman and a Mongol Soldier on Horseback, both holding a child in front of them. This too is called Princess Wên Chi's Return to China, but if the title is correct, the picture is a highly simplified version of the motif. It could rather be called the Escort of a Chinese Woman and two Children by a Mongol Soldier. The main motif of the picture is, however, not the figures (whoever they may be), but the sturdy Mongolian ponies on which they are riding. These animals are trotting along with an intense vitality which makes them more attractive than the somewhat indifferent figures. The picture has nothing to do either with Ch'ên Chū-chung, or with Ku Tê-ch'ien, the flower-painter of the ninth century to whom it is traditionally attributed. It was probably painted in the early part of the thirteenth century, probably by a northerner active in the Chin domain (Pl.319).

There were several prominent painters at that time attached to the court of the Chin rulers in Peking. The best known among them was Wang T'ing-yün, *tzü* Tzū-tuan, *hao* Huang-hua Shan-jên, who worked mainly in ink like the gentleman-painters of the previous epoch. He was born 1151 in Ho-tung in Shensi, died 1202 when he had reached the position of an official historiographer at the Chin court. He was a prominent Han-lin scholar, said to have followed his father-in-law, Mi Fei, very closely. His favourite motifs were old trees, bamboos and rocks, which he painted in a free and bold manner somewhat like that of Su Shih or Mi Fei. This may be observed in a short handscroll in Yurinkan (the Fujii collection in Kyoto). The picture represents a section of an old tree with mossy branches and a slender bamboo growing at its side, and may well be ranked among the masterpieces of expressionistic ink-painting (Pl.320).

There were a number of bamboo-painters active under the Chin government who apparently practised their art along the same traditional lines as Wang T'ing-yün, for instance, Wang Ching, Ts'ai Kuei, Chao Ping-wên, Wang Mang-ch'ing, and

Chang Ju-lin. Their careers as government officials and Han-lin scholars are recorded in the *Chin History* but little is known about their paintings, except that they were made in adherence to the old scholarly tradition of Wên T'ung, and no specimens of their work have been identified.¹

Other highly talented artists attached to the Chin court specialized in landscape-painting, but these too are recorded more fully in their capacity of Han-lin scholars and government officials than because of their activity as painters. Prominent examples of this class are Jên Hsün, *tzü* Chün-mo, whose "paintings belonged to the divine class", Li Chung-liieh, who made successful imitations of Mi Fei, and two more original men like Chang Kung-tso and Wu Yüan-chih, but no works by them are preserved. The only landscape-painter active in the Chin domain whose style may be observed in a still existing work, is Li Shan. He served as a secretary in one of the government offices but occupied himself at the same time as a painter of romantic landscapes.

A picture of his in the shape of a small handscroll, now belonging to Mrs. Eugène Meyer in Washington, has been identified with a picture mentioned in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*.² It is called Pines and Firs in Wind and Snow and is described as follows by An Lu-ts'un: "It is a snow-landscape filled with the breath of life, painted in ink in accordance with the ideas of Ching Hao and Kuan T'ung. The mountains form high peaks and the tall pines and firs stand in rings about them... There is a man who is seated and warming his hands on a brazier; behind him is a straw hut visible in part. The brush-work in the trees, the rocks and the water appears quite careless, but every stroke is done with a purpose, and the effect of distance over the sandy beach, the reeds and the islands is perfect. This is the only scroll (by Li Shan) which has been transmitted. At the head of the picture stands the signature: P'ing-yang Li Shan."

In addition to this scroll may be recalled a larger picture of more rustic type in the Freer Gallery, which is traditionally ascribed to Li Shan. It

represents a mountain stream bordered by rocky banks grown over with tall pine-trees and rising on the further side into a craggy mountain wall. The picture is somewhat worn and retouched but retains the atmosphere of the romantic landscapes of Northern Sung time and the imprint of a good master's brush. But whether this actually was Li Shan's is more than we can tell (Pl. 321).

* * *

In his presentation of the painters who worked in the Chin state T'ang Hou emphasizes in particular the importance of the horse-painters. He writes: "The paintings of horses made by Chin artists are well worth seeing; it is a pity that not all their names are known." He makes no further attempt to discuss these painters but adds instead the following note about a no less remarkable horse-painter from the South who continued his activity into the Mongol period:

"The modern artist Master Kung Shêng-yü, named K'ai, is a man from Huai-yin, Anhui. He is eight feet tall and has a full and beautiful beard. He has studied a great deal and developed a style of his own in literary writing. In painting horses he looks to Ts'ao Pa as a model and grasps his ideas. But his brush-work is somewhat coarse, which is a defect. In painting human figures he also follows Ts'ao Pa and Han Kan, but in landscape-painting he imitates Mi Yüan-hui. His plum-blossoms, chrysanthemums and other flowers are made after the model of various old masters. The colophons or poems which he adds to his scrolls are always strange and original. Once he painted A Starved Horse and added a poem in which he asks: "Is there no one who will feel pity for this bare-boned horse of mine? It stands in the setting sun and throws a shadow like a mountain on the sand."

Kung K'ai's picture of The Starved Horse is now

¹ The records about these painters of Chin in *Shu-hua p'u* contain in most instances references to the *Chin History*.

² Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The picture is described in the catalogue of P'ang Yüan-ch'i, its former owner, and in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*, vol. 4.

in the Abe collection in the Museum in Ōsaka. The miserable old mare looks perfectly exhausted as it stands with hanging head, snuffing at the ground. There is no indication of scenery, nor of the shadow (mentioned in the inscription), yet the picture does not lack in sentimental appeal or expressiveness. It is executed in ink only with a rather dry brush well fitted to emphasize the bony structure of the animal, which is like the "Hautskelet" of a hermit in the wilderness. The artist's inscription, which is written in archaic characters, adds something to the strangeness of this work, which is furthermore abundantly decorated with seals and eulogized in several colophons.

Kung was apparently a man of strange habits and mannerisms. When painting he never sat on a chair or a mat but lay on his bed. "The paper was spread before him, and he painted T'ang horses, swift as the wind with manes like mist, strong bones and fine muscles, perfectly rendered in all sorts of attitudes."¹

His favourite motifs beside horses were devils and goblins of a more or less humorous kind often represented in company with their overlord or queller, the giant Chung K'uei, who knew how to inspire these frisky elementals with fear and obedience. There is a handscroll in the National Museum in Peking representing Chung K'uei Removing his Residence (signed by the artist), and another variation on a similar Chung K'uei-motif called The Demon-queller and his Sister Traveling in Chairs, in the Freer Gallery. This is one of the most entertaining, not to say fascinating figure-paintings from the end of the Sung period still existing. The somewhat grotesque figures – half human, half devils or elementals – are treated with a kind of humorous sympathy; they form the retinue of the master who like his sister is travelling in a sedan-chair. Their truculent expressions and awkward gestures reveal their violent natural disposition, but nevertheless they follow their master as obedient

servants, carrying big sacks and sprawling small devils on long sticks over their shoulders. The energy and incisiveness of the brush-work endows these figures with an extraordinary vitality. The *ch'i yün* is, so to speak, compressed to the utmost in their sinewy limbs and grinning faces, and all the possibilities of black and white have been utilized to suggest a colourful display of strange costumes and coiffures (Pls. 323, 324).

The painter himself has written an illuminating text to the picture in a lengthy colophon from which the following may be quoted:

"The 'Lord with the Whiskers' has his abode on Chung shan. Where was he going when he mounted in his carriage? One might suppose that he was hunting, though not accompanied by falcons and hounds. I think he was travelling for pleasure with his household.

"His young sister had painted her face. Of the five colours used for 'make-up', black suited her best. When arriving at the post-house on their way they needed a little rest. But who was there in the old house to give them wine and food? (Except the two servants Red Turban and Black Shirt) . . .

"People who say that painting ink-devils is just playing with the brush, are greatly mistaken. It may be compared with the works of a great calligrapher who is a Sage of grass-script. How could he write grass-script if he had not first mastered the normal script? Among the ancient painters who were good in painting devils there were Ssü I-chen and Chao Ch'ien-li"² . . .

After some grotesque references which here may be left out the painter winds up in saying that "if the picture is compared with writing it may be placed between formal script (*Chên shu*) and running script (*hsing shu*)".

¹ Kuei-tsu tsa-chih quoted in *Shu-hua p'u*, vol. 52.

² Chao Chien-li is the name of Chao Po-chü; Ssü I-chen is a misprint for Miao I-chen, a specialist of devil painting in the Sung period.

The Ch'an Painters

THE LAST word of Southern Sung landscape-painting was not pronounced by any of the academicians or the famous men in high positions either in the South or in the North, but by painters who mostly lived as monks in some of the Ch'an temples in the hills above the Western Lake in Hangchow. Here flourished in the thirteenth century a school of landscape painting inspired by meditative Buddhism which attained extraordinary importance. Without being religious in the traditional or formal sense of the word, it was the expression for a special form of religious practice, and if its adherents were not all ordained priests or monks, they were nevertheless inspired by the same religious ideas. They did not paint in order to produce beautiful pictures, but to express a state of consciousness which to them was the greatest happiness and the highest form of reality. To reach this it was necessary to cleanse the mind of all deceptive illusions and sensual entanglements. The student had to learn that the whole exterior universe is but the garment or shadow of something invisible but far more potent than the phenomenal world – an insight that could not be obtained simply through intellectual study or formal training. This was called "the opening of the third eye", or the awakening of the intuitive faculty, by which man becomes conscious of his Buddha-nature, the potential spiritual spark in every entity.

When man has awakened this knowledge within himself by aspiration and meditation, distinctions fade away into relativity and the significance of things is esteemed not according to outward appearances but by their relation to the spiritual experience;

a single flower may reveal as much as a whole forest, a grain of dust be as wonderful as a mountain. This comprehension, which evidently had a direct bearing on the attitude of the painters, is emphasized in the words of some of the old Ch'an masters, as for instance in the following statement by the monk Yüan-wu (1065-1135).

"One particle of dust is raised, and the great earth lies therein, one flower blooms, and the universe rises with it. But where should our eyes be fixed when the dust is not stirred and the flower has not opened into bloom? . . . Get out of all entangling relations and rip them to pieces, but do not lose track of your own inner treasure, for it is through this that the high and the low, the universally responding, the advanced and the backward, manifest themselves without distinction, each in full perfection."

The "inner treasure" spoken of by Yüan-wu, is the essence of mind, the Buddha-nature, or spiritual consciousness, which realizes or grasps the truth without discussions or deliberations. The principal aim of the Ch'an philosophers was to awaken this part of their nature and thus to reach self-consciousness in a spiritual rather than in an intellectual sense. When man is able to free himself at will from all the distracting influences of the mental and material life, his consciousness will reflect, like the quiet mirror of the mountain lake, glimpses of a reality that no sensual experience or intellectual reasoning can convey.

The Chinese Ch'an students were no ascetics, they did not emaciate their bodies, but they became

indifferent to much that might seem essential to the material life and comfort of ordinary people, and with their lack of intellectual refinement and their disdain of learning they often appeared rough and reckless. But their love and comprehension of nature was intense, because there they found reflections of that same Buddha-nature that they had discovered in themselves. The falling leaves and blooming flowers, nay, even so-called inanimate things like stones and mountains, revealed to them "the holy law of Buddha". The greatest book was to them "the so-called sutra which is written in characters of Heaven and man, of beasts and *asuras*, of blades of grass and thousands of trees."¹

The importance of Ch'an to the artists did not, however, consist simply in the fact that it brought them so very close to the heart of nature and made them look at every form, be it stone, tree, bird, or beast, as an expression of the same consciousness that they also sought within themselves. It gave wings to their imagination and a feeling of unity with all that lives, which went far beyond that of ordinary pantheistic romanticism. It gave them the faculty of comprehending the objects in nature not simply as phenomena of a more or less individual character, as in the works of the previous Sung painters, but as parts or reflections of themselves, symbolic perhaps, yet nevertheless revealing an unseen reality.

The recording of such fleeting glimpses from a world beyond that of sensual observation demanded, of course, the greatest dexterity, a supreme technical mastery, and an utmost reduction of material labour. It had to be written down as swiftly and easily as the wind blows and the waves roll. It was the last perfection of the *i-p'in* method which had been developed by some of the earlier Ch'an painters like Shih K'o and Wang Hsia of the ninth century, though none of them had been able to exhaust all its possibilities. That was done by the great masters at the end of the Sung period. The pictures produced by them are, however, often of the simplest kind: a few flowers or fruits, two birds on a bamboo-branch, a single figure, some moun-

tains and trees in the haze, or distant sails on misty waters; but they convey glimpses from a world that has no limits, embracing infinity of space and eternity of time, like the enlightened mind of the Ch'an student.

* * *

The best-known representatives of this kind of Ch'an painting were Liang K'ai and Mu-ch'i, but they opened the way for a host of minor talents, particularly in the Ch'an monasteries, who continued the same trend of pictorial expressionism. The historical records about these painters are quite incomplete; most of them were hardly known outside their circle of personal friends and their works did not find place in the imperial collections or in those of the leading connoisseurs.

The only one among them who to some extent formed an exception to the rule was Liang K'ai: he started as an academician and met as such with some recognition, but renounced all official honours and settled in a Ch'an monastery, where he seems to have spent the main part of his life. The most complete record of the changing fortunes of Liang K'ai, which may be read in *T'u-hui pao-chien*, contains the following:

"Liang K'ai, a descendant of (Liang) Hsiang-hsi from Tung-p'ing (Shantung) was a good painter of human figures, landscapes, Buddhist and Taoist images, ghosts and heavenly beings. He followed Chia Shih-ku and painted in a graceful and free manner (surpassing the older masters) as 'blue surpasses indigo'.

"In the Chia-t'ai era (1201-1204) he became a *tai chao* in the Academy and was given the Golden Girdle, but he did not accept it; he hung it in the Academy and went away. He was very fond of wine, and a jocular fellow who called himself 'the crazy Liang'. Yet, when the academicians saw the marvellous refinement of his brush(work), they acknowledged his superiority, but such paintings of his as have been preserved are quite sketchy and

¹ Kaiten Nukaria, *The Religion of the Samurai*, 1913, pp. 69-73.

(made according to) the abbreviated manner" (*chien pi*).

This short notice has formed the basis of most of the later attempts to characterize Liang K'ai's artistic personality. The additional remarks by later writers, reported for instance in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu* (Vol.V), refer mainly to technical matters, the painter's way of handling the brush and the ink, and to the subjects of some of his best-known pictures.

The statement quoted above, according to which Liang K'ai was a pupil of Chia Shih-ku, is interesting as a confirmation of his close connexion in his early years with the academic traditions of style. Chia Shih-ku, who was active about the middle of the twelfth century, is classified by the Chinese historians as a late follower of Li Lung-mien.¹ He was a *chih hou* in the Academy and painted mainly Buddhist and Taoist figures in ink. To judge by his picture of Kuan-yin Seated on a Rock, in the Palace Museum, his brush-work was however of a coarser and broader kind than Li Lung-mien's *pai miao* manner. The effect of the picture depends mainly on the striking contrast between the figure and the supporting rocks, which seems too coarse for a Sung painting; I would rather classify it as a copy. Liang K'ai on the other hand is said to have followed Li Lung-mien's *pai miao* manner very closely in his early religious paintings, as stated by a contemporary critic: "He painted Buddhist and Taoist figures with great refinement, including even the smallest details, but the rocks and trees he dotted down quite freely, apparently without intention. Yet, the intention was to increase the effect of life by the free and vigorous brush-work, since the figures were so delicately drawn."²

Liang K'ai's manner of painting seems to have changed considerably during the years; if he started as a follower of the academic traditions such as were handed down by Chia Shih-ku and others, he ended as a full-fledged representative of that peculiar form of expressionistic ink-painting which was cultivated by the adherents of the Ch'an practices. But owing to the fact that none of his

pictures is dated, it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to establish a chronological series or a definite line of evolution within his preserved works. They are all strongly expressionistic in the broadest sense of the term, but their brush-work is modified with a view to the motif and the inspiration of the moment. The figure compositions and the landscapes are of equal importance in his *œuvre*; they are often combined and are rarely treated separately. Some of them illustrate religious ideas, philosophical parables or legendary subjects, while others are pure landscapes, but these too suggest more than the mere scenery which they represent.

The majority of the pictures which nowadays are accepted as works by Liang K'ai form (or formed until the end of the last war) parts of some of the best old Japanese collections, dating back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, when the master was far more appreciated in Japan than in China. If we did not have recourse to these pictures in Japanese collections (which furthermore have been beautifully reproduced)³ it would be impossible to form any idea about Liang K'ai's mastership as a painter, because those which exist elsewhere are relatively few and less well documented.

The earliest among Liang K'ai's works in Japan is probably the relatively large picture (nearly four feet) until recently in the Sakai collection, which represents Prince Siddhārtha as an ascetic in the mountain, or as usually called, "Śakyamuni on his Way to the Bodhi-tree" (under which he received the Buddhist illumination). According to the inscription, it was painted for the emperor, which implies that it was done at a time when Liang K'ai was still active in the Hangchow Academy. The picture has a note of tragic grandeur, produced by the interplay of its two constituent elements: the lonely man who stands sunk in deep thought,

¹ The records about Chia Shih-ku in *T'u-hui pao-chien*, vol.IV. The reproduction of his picture in *K.-k. Shu-hua chi*, vol.VII.

² From *Tz'ü t'ao hsüan tsa-chu* by Li Jih-hua.

³ Most of the master's famous works in Japan are reproduced in *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan*, vol.IX, Pls.65-75, and in *Sōgen Meigashū*, vols.1-3.

slightly bent, with both hands on his breast, and the enclosing mountain walls on which some brambles and the branches of a dry tree form a thornlike jerky pattern. The landscape accentuates the pathos of the man who is meditating on the woes of mankind, and whose soul is filled with compassion. It is reflected in his noble face, framed by a black beard, and in the deep introspective regard. Liang K'ai's genius as a revealer of the soul of man is here fully discernible, though he expresses his vision as yet in a relatively guarded and traditional form. In painting this figure he had evidently been leaning on paintings by Wu Tao-tzū as models, particularly for the wavy and whirling mantle folds. The connexion seems obvious and it is confirmed by writers who have recorded it in their descriptions of other paintings by the master (Pls. 325, 326).

One of the pictures in which Liang K'ai's dependence on Wu Tao-tzū was noticeable, represented (according to a note by Wu Ch'i-chên) *The Famous Monks (Kao Sêng)*.¹ There is no further record about the picture, but one may wonder whether it could have served as a model for the scroll in the Abe collection (now in the Ōsaka Museum), which is commonly known as the *Sixteen Lohans*. This scroll, which is provided with Liang K'ai's signature and colophons of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is obviously a feeble imitation (possibly of late Ming date), but the somewhat strange and grotesque figures in wide mantles with wavy folds *à la* Wu Tao-tzū may have been copied from a picture by Liang K'ai. In other words, the figures are drawn according to an early style though of later date.

A long step further in Liang K'ai's stylistic development is marked by the handscroll (formerly in the Manchu Household collection) which represents *Wang Hsi-chih Writing on a Fan* and which is accompanied by several colophons of the Yüan period, one of them dated 1323. Here there are no longer any traces of the painter's dependence on earlier models or currents of style to be observed. The whole thing is a spontaneous expression of

Liang K'ai's own temperament; every stroke reveals the impetus of his creative genius. In representing the greatest calligraphist of antiquity the artist has, so to speak, represented himself in the act of writing (Pl. 327); impersonating the genius of Wang Hsi-chih in the way he wielded the brush and transferred his thoughts to paper. The intense concentration reflected in the attitude and expression of the writer is the same as that which guided the brush of the painter when creating this little masterpiece. The lightly painted figures may seem almost sketchy, yet they are vibrant with life and form an effective contrast to the sturdy old trunk, which is painted with splashes of dark ink and gives the impression of massiveness and weight.

This was not the only picture by Liang K'ai illustrating episodes from the life of Wang Hsi-chih. Another, said to have represented Wang Hsi-chih *Looking at Geese* (*i.e.* observing the graceful movements of the necks of the geese), is mentioned in *Sung-hsüeh shih-chi*, but the colophon by Sung Lien (of the Hsing-wu period) contains no information as to the composition of the picture, simply the well-known historical notes about the painter.²

The distance in style from the Wang Hsi-chih picture to the famous Ch'an picture in Japan which represents Hui-nêng, the Sixth Patriarch, Chopping a Bamboo-pole, is not very great, though one may note a further step in the speed and strength of the brush-work. The picture which was formerly in the Sakai collection is now in the National Museum in Tokyo, whereas the other picture in which the same patriarch is shown tearing a sutra scroll into pieces, is nowadays correctly classified as an old Japanese copy after a lost original by Liang Kao (Pl. 329). It is an interesting testimony of how much Liang K'ai meant to the Japanese in the Ashikaga period and naturally in a better state of preservation than the much older original painting with which it forms a

¹ Wu Ch'i-chên, *Shu-hua chi*, quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. 5, p. 18.

² Quoted from *Sung-hsüeh shih-chi* in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. 5, p. 19.

pair. It is only when we see the two pictures side by side that the difference in quality as well as in their state of preservation becomes evident. The old one is more worn and faded than appears in a photograph, yet it has preserved all that freshness and impetuosity in the brush-work which lifts it to the highest level of impressionistic ink-painting in China. The jerky and abrupt strokes are done with flashing speed, in a *tempo furioso*, more or less corresponding to the records about the ways and methods of this extraordinary Ch'an master who met his students with shouts and roaring. It seems as if the artist had caught with his brush or symbolized in its rapid and yet so firm and significant movements, those sudden strokes of Buddhist light and energy for which the Ch'an philosophers were ever preparing their minds in meditation. The flashing quality of creative thought is here suggested in a pictorial form intensely spontaneous and profoundly animating (Pl. 328).

The old critics have also made more or less successful attempts to describe Liang K'ai's extraordinary brush-work by similes or metaphors. In a book called *I-mên kuan tu*¹ it is said that Liang K'ai "painted with *p'ieh-na* and (also) with strokes like broken reeds". The expression *p'ieh-na* is the technical term for down-strokes to the left (thinning towards the end) and to the right (broadening towards the end) respectively, as may be seen in the character *jên* 人; they are most in evidence in pictures painted in a fluent manner, whereas the "broken reed strokes" are obvious in the last-mentioned pictures of the Ch'an master Hui-nêng.

The significance of this picture is not dependent only on the characterization of the figure, but also on its position in a design which, though barely suggested by a bit of tree-trunk, serves to evoke an impression of height and space which detaches the figures from the limitations of the objective world and makes them live in the universe of their enlightened minds.

The subtle versatility and technical skill of the master are equally and even more apparent in the

famous portrait of the poet Li T'ai-po (National Museum in Tokyo) (Pls. 330, 331). This picture may indeed outwardly appear as one of Liang K'ai's simplest works, but it is at the same time one of the strongest. It is reduced to the bare essentials – the man in a wide mantle that covers him completely from the neck to the feet, with even the hands not visible, placed in profile against an empty background of greyish paper (now full of small repairs). The whole picture is only 80 cm. high and the man is hardly 50 cm., but he bears the imprint of a large figure. The form is simplified to the utmost, rendered with a few ductile yet definite strokes of a soft brush, and though there are no plastic folds or modelling in light and shade, the form appears convincingly broad and strong, not without grandeur. The feet are visible in part like two dark patches below the edge of the cloak in which their movement is reflected. The man is walking slowly, almost glidingly, but the proud backwards jerk of the neck gives him an air of self-absorbed happiness. The life-breath which pervades the whole being is irresistible, though strictly controlled; it seems to radiate even from the goatee and from the bristly tuft of hair on the back of his head. There is a smile on his lips and a gleam in the black sparkling eyes. He is walking along feeling the rhythm within him of a poem as yet unborn.

The painter has caught something of the same rhythm with his brush and conveyed it into visible shape with the aid of a brilliant *p'o mo* technique.

Through the titles and short records of some of Liang K'ai's works mentioned in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, it becomes evident that he did several imaginative portraits of ancient poets and philosophers. One of his most admired paintings represented T'ao Yüan-ming, the famous writer and chrysanthemum-gardener, standing with a flower in his hand under a pine-tree.² In another picture the T'ang poet Mêng Hao-jan was represented riding on a donkey on the Pa Bridge; an amusing picture

¹ Quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. V.

² Cf. Wu Ch'i-chên, *Shu-hua chi*.

"executed with a swift and spontaneous brush like a piece of grass-writing"¹ – perhaps akin to the Li Po portrait. To the same class belonged also the pictures representing Confucius Dreaming of the Duke of Chou, and Chuang-tzū Dreaming that he was a Butterfly, said to have been "painted with some sweeping strokes of the brush by a wizard among men".²

Other subjects of a more legendary type which no doubt offered opportunities to introduce humorous accents in the characterization were Chung K'uei, the demon-queller, represented "with a curling moustache on his tiger mouth and a dark beard hanging down to his legs"³... and the joyous monk Pu-tai, who through a strange transformation became identified with Maitreya Bodhisattva⁴... and probably also the "Exorcising of Four Devils by a Monk at Ling-yin ssü", not to mention various Taoist divinities and the like. But he also painted portraits, for instance of Huang T'ing-chien, which was provided with a colophon by Chao Mêng-fu, and pictures of birds, insects and flowers.

Among the various landscapes ascribed to Liang K'ai and mostly provided with his signature (even when executed later) should be recalled in particular two hanging scrolls, one in the National Museum in Tokyo and the other (formerly) in the Sakai collection. They represent winter scenes and are closely akin by their motifs and their manner of execution. The composition consists in both cases of snow-covered hills which stand luminously white against the grey winter sky. A few stumpy old trees which grow on the rocky ledge of the stream below, now shattered by the cold, are reminiscences of past times. Human life is represented only in one of the two pictures, i.e. by two men on horseback seeking their way through the snow up to the pass. They are quite isolated in the white desert, and their minuscule size serves to emphasize the vastness of the view. The simplicity of the motifs may be said to enhance rather than detract from the significance of these pictures, because the essential element does not

reside in the design or in any formal qualities but in the pictorial atmosphere, the suggestion of the vaporous moistness from the newly-fallen snow which is felt rather than seen (Pl. 332). The execution with various grades of transparent washes is in this respect most important; there are only slight additions of colour in the tree-trunks and the figures, yet the pictorial, not to say colouristic, effect is dominant. Compared with the more popular masterpieces of the Ma-Hsia school these pictures mark a step forward in a new direction; they are pictorial interpretations of a definite mood of nature relatively independent of the prevailing academic formulas.

Liang K'ai cannot be said to have formed a school of his own, but he became sufficiently famous to incite imitators and copyists who used his signature freely. We find it thus on several minor landscape studies in Chinese and Japanese collections which are more or less attractive, but not convincing as the master's work. The same may be said of the more important picture in the Shanghai Museum which represents the Eight Patriarchs of Ch'an Buddhism in eight pictures united together with intercalated descriptive texts into a scroll.

Liang K'ai's signature is here repeated at least three times, and it may be admitted that the somewhat flashy manner of painting reflects some influence from the master. These pictures are, however, executed with more speed than care and crudely coloured. But in spite of their very moderate artistic quality they are worth remembering in a study of Ch'an painting in China at the very end of the Sung period and later, because some of them which illustrate popular anecdotes about the no less rustic than holy men, introduce us to a class of popular Ch'an painting which is seldom seen and little

¹ Chang So-wang, *Yueh-k'eng yü lu*.

² *T'ai'-ping ch'ing-hua*.

³ Cf. *Yü-sü chi*, quoted in *Nan-Sung yüan-hua lu*, vol. V.

⁴ Wu Ch'i-chên, *Shui-hua chi*. There are two pictures by Liang K'ai in Japanese collections which represent Pu-tai; in one he is watching a cock-fight, in the other, dancing.

known. There must have been a number of minor artists who provided illustrative paintings of this quasi-rustic type and in doing them leaned on the greater masters whose style they interpreted with moderate success.

* * *

Liang K'ai's fame as an artist became after all well established and widely recognized in his homeland, where his works have been collected by emperors and commoners, while Mu-ch'i who, owing to his paintings in Japan, has become internationally even more admired, is known in China only through a single handscroll of vegetables, flowers and birds (in the Ku-kung collection). The biographical information about him is very scanty; only a short notice referring to his activity as a painter is found in *Hua-shih hui-yao* and *T'u-hui pao-chien*, which can hardly be said to reflect great appreciation:

"The monk Fa-ch'ang, whose *hao* was Mu-ch'i, was fond of painting dragons, tigers, apes, cranes, wild geese in rushes, landscapes, trees, rocks and human figures, and he did them all in a free and easy fashion, dotting with the ink. He expressed his ideas quite simply without ornamental elaboration. His way of painting was coarse and ugly, not in accordance with the ancient rules, nor for refined enjoyment."

The last sentence, in which the characteristic academic criticism of Mu-ch'i's art finds expression, is taken over from T'ang Hou's chronicle *Ku-chin hua-chien*, which was composed shortly before 1329, less than a hundred years after Mu-ch'i's death. The monk painter is mentioned there in passing with the remark that he "played with ink in a rough and vulgar manner and did not follow the rules of the ancients".

His connexion with the Ch'an order is furthermore recorded in the *Hsia-hsieh chi*, viz. "The monk Mu-ch'i, a man of the Sung period, and a pupil of Wu-chun, excelled as a painter." Judging by the fact that the Ch'an master Wu-chun passed away in 1249, we may assume that Mu-ch'i was

born at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a supposition that also is confirmed by the inscription dated 1269 on one of his principal pictures and by the fact that he was a fellow-student with the Japanese monks Benen and Sōgen. These two and other Japanese fellow-students in the Ch'an monasteries near Hangchou seem to have been active in acquiring works by Mu-ch'i and in bringing them over to Japan, where already in the life-time of the painter they were greatly admired. He is said to have lived first in the Ching-shan monastery (Chekiang), but later on he established a temple of his own in the neighbourhood of Hangchou called Liu-t'ung ssū, which thenceforward remained the centre of the Mu-ch'i school of painting. Considering these historical circumstances and the dates of some of the artist's friends, Japanese historians have come to the conclusion that Mu-ch'i's life must have been passed between 1210 and 1275.¹

Mu-ch'i's most important paintings are all inspired by symbolic concepts or parables illustrating the Ch'an attitude towards life and nature. This is true of his dragons and tigers just as much as of his Bodhisattvas and monks and, in a more generalized way, also of his paintings of birds, flowers and fruits. The landscapes and flowers are perhaps not symbolic in the same way as the illustrative pictures, but they evoke visions of shifting moods of nature as reflected in the creative mind of a great poet. A few examples may suffice to convey an impression of Mu-ch'i's

¹ Tanaka Toyozō, Mokkei Shōwa in *Tōyō Bijutsu Tansō* (1941). The completest information about Mu-ch'i in any western language is Otto Kummel's article in *Allgemeines Lex. der Bild. Künstler*, vol. XXV, 1931, which is based on Japanese articles by Takagi and Saga.

The historical presentation of Mu-ch'i's activity and the critical review of his works are complicated by the records about a Japanese painter, called Mokuan or Mo-an, who stayed during the first half of the fourteenth century in some of the Ch'an monasteries near Hangchou and Suchou. He is said to have imitated Mu-ch'i so successfully that the abbot of Liu-t'ung ssū called him a "reborn Mu-ch'i" and presented him with two of Mu-ch'i's seals, which were preserved in the temple. This seems to be the explanation of the fact that some of the pictures marked with Mu-ch'i's seal are not on the level of his fully-signed principal works. They are painted in the Mu-ch'i style by an inferior man.

art, which is homogeneous in style and inspiration in spite of all varieties in technique and motifs.

A relatively early example of excellent quality is the small picture (in the Masuda collection) of The Priest Chien-tzū Playing with a Shrimp. It must have been executed before 1260, the date of Yen Chi's inscription. The priest has almost a boyish look; he is wearing the raffia skirt of a fisherman, holds in the one hand a pole-net and with the other lifts a sprawling shrimp that excites his hilarity. The situation is fugitive, bound to change in the next moment, the picture is like a momentary flash on the retina of the mind – perhaps the symbolic answer to one of those *koans* which cannot be intellectually dissected or exhausted. The attribution to Mu-ch'i is supported by the painter's authentic seal (Pl.334).

If this picture appears humorous, the opposite is true of the large picture in the Iwasaki collection (Seikadō), representing A Meditating Ch'an Monk. It seems to reflect the impetus of a deep spiritual concentration. The monk is seated on a mountain terrace with a large snake coiled round him and opening its deadly jaws on his lap. The grim imperturbability of the man in this dangerous situation reveals an intense concentration, a radiating force which controls the situation. Though the figure is in complete repose, it may be called dynamic. The mantle is drawn with tightly curving lines, whereas the cliff and the clouds in the background are rendered with soft washes of light and shade. There is nothing attractive about this rugged being, he is rather terrifying as a personification of superhuman elemental forces held in check by a spiritual will. This picture is no longer unanimously accepted by Japanese critics as a work by the master (Pl.335).

Since the end of the fifteenth century Mu-ch'i's largest and most important paintings have belonged to the main temple of Daitokuji in Kyōto; before that time they were in the collection of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The three pictures which nowadays form a triptych, i.e. Kuanyin Bodhisattva, the

Mother Monkey with her Baby, and the Crane, were probably combined into their present ensemble shortly after their importation to Japan in the fourteenth century, whereas the Dragon and the Tiger in the same temple collection may have been painted from the very beginning as pendants. Each one of the individual pieces of the triptych measures 61.74 × 0.98 m., but the Dragon and the Tiger are somewhat larger. Only the Kuanyin picture is fully signed as follows: "The monk from Shu, Fa-ch'ang painted it", the signature being written across the red seal of the painter. The two others have the Mu-ch'i seal in white and also the seals of the Higashiyama collection (Pls.336–338).

The peculiar combination of the Bodhisattva with the large bird and the monkey with its baby on a tree-branch was presumably a concession to the taste or requirements prevailing at the time in Buddhist circles in Japan. The two side-pieces have nothing in common with the central picture, be it from a philosophical or from a decorative viewpoint. Triptychs of this kind are unknown in China, whereas they became quite common in the Ashikaga period in Japan, when several such combinations were made of pictures that had little or nothing in common. The central piece (*pên tsun*) was usually a religious picture, whereas the side pieces could be landscapes, animals, birds, flowers or bamboo.¹ This blending of religious veneration with aesthetic enjoyment was no doubt a characteristic expression of the quasi-religious romanticism of the Ashikaga period, which also found expression in contemporary literature.²

The Kuanyin picture was no doubt originally a self-contained piece with no need of side-wings, painted in a manner that has more in common with that of the above-mentioned meditating monk than with the pictures of the crane and the monkey. These

¹ A good example of such combinations is the triptych in Koto-in made up of two landscapes by Li T'ang at the sides of a Bodhisattva in the style of Wu Tao-tzu.

² These explanatory views are further developed by Tanaka Toyozō in his article on Mokkei in *Bijutsu Tansō*, mentioned before.

are executed in a more elegant and fluent manner; they form a pair of their own and have no such religious significance as the central piece.

From a strictly pictorial point of view the Crane and the Monkey are certainly not inferior to the Bodhisattva and they have furthermore the advantage of some life-movement conveyed by the rhythm of the designs. The crane is walking with springy steps, lifting its head and uttering a loud cry; the monkey is clinging to the branch of an old tree with supple strength, fondling her child as if to protect it against the cold. The animal is placed in the centre of the picture where the diagonals, marked by the tree branches, meet, and it is painted in glowing dark ink, except around the moon-face, which is almost white. The background fades away into dim greyish tones, the atmosphere is cold and lonely.

The crane expresses something of the same mood with its melancholy cry, and the general tonality here too is black and grey, though the central motif (the bird) is mainly white instead of black like the monkey. The formal design seems quite different, as the large bird is walking slowly at the edge of a misty bamboo-grove, but the one leg together with the lifted neck suggest a diagonal which corresponds to the dominating line of the monkey picture. In other words, these two pictures have been designed as pendants; they represent motifs which often recur in Chinese art and literature as symbols of loneliness, or the peaceful mood of the wilderness, where hermits listen to the apes and the cranes. They have no iconographic connexion with Buddhist art or ideas, yet it must be admitted that the person who first combined these animal and bird pictures with the Kuanyin had a deep feeling for the symbolic significance of the motifs, and may have done it with some intention of intensifying the effect of the restfully meditating Bodhisattva by surrounding her with symbols of the sorrows and sadness of the animal and human world.

The white-robed Kuanyin Bodhisattva is an image of perfect repose; the prevailing tone of the

picture is silvery grey. She is crowned with a high diadem, and wrapped in a wide mantle which forms an abundance of long wavy folds over her crossed legs and the straw mat on which she is seated. Neither the feet nor the hands are visible; her face has the calmness of a mountain lake at dawn. Behind her opens the entrance to a cave, faintly suggested by the climbing plants in front of it. Below her is the calm mirroring water, but all these surrounding elements are more subdued in tone, darker than the Bodhisattva – the divine incarnation of boundless mercy – a vision seen through a veil of utter silence and peace, transmitted in a perfectly balanced form.

This picture holds a supreme position within the whole range of Buddhist paintings of the Far East.

The very large pictures of the Dragon and the Tiger (in Daitokuji) are highly dramatic and in consequence perhaps more overwhelming manifestations of the Ch'an inspiration, but they are artistically not on a level with the triptych. They have, furthermore, suffered considerably from careless handling and been cut down in size, which makes the enormous beasts look somewhat cramped within the too narrow spaces. Yet they are expressive of the spiritual and material forces symbolized by these animals. The dragon with flashing eyes and shimmering scaly body is issuing like lightning from the clouds, while the tiger sits erect with sinews tense, ready to spring at its prey with the swiftness of the gale that shakes the bamboos in the background. They are painted with a sweeping brush, or something of the swing and vehemence that the old chroniclers used to praise in Wu Tao-tzu's wall-paintings, though the brush-work is coarser than in the pictures mentioned above (Pl. 342).

The landscapes which are commonly recognized as authentic works by Mu-ch'i are all sections of two scrolls which both represented The Eight Famous Views of Hsiao and Hsiang. Of the minor scroll only three sections have been transmitted, *viz.* Autumn Moon over the Tung-t'ing Lake (Tokugawa collection, Nagoya, Pl. 348), Night Rain over Hsiao

and Hsiang (Baron Masuda collection, Pl.341), and The Evening Bell from a Distant Temple (Count Matsura collection, reproduced in *Shimbi*, vol.V). Of the larger scroll which represented the same motifs, though with considerable differences in the compositions, at least five sections are known, viz. Returning Sails off a Distant Coast (Count Matsudaira; Pl.345), Sunset over a Fishing-village (Nezu collection; Pl.340), Wild Geese Alighting on the Shore (formerly Matsudaira, now Sasaki collection; Pl.349),¹ The Evening Bell from a Distant Temple (formerly Marquis Maeda; now Yada collection, Katayama), Evening Snow on the Hills (formerly Marquis Tokugawa, later Mr. Suenobu).²

Few motifs have been more consistently treated by Chinese landscape painters ever since the beginning of the Sung period than the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang, but they have nevertheless yielded a very rich variation of pictorial compositions. They formed simply a set of suggestive names for a series of continuous views of water, mountains, wooded shores or sandy beaches, sometimes enlivened by sailing-boats, or fishermen, or alighting birds, and represented at different seasons and hours of the day. They were useful as labels or keys to the ideas traditionally associated with the motifs, but these were interpreted by each painter according to his creative imagination quite independently of any local colour or descriptive elements. It was the symbolic suggestiveness rather than any actual scenery which lent significance to pictures like the Autumn Moon over the Tung-t'ing Lake, the Evening Bell from a Distant Temple.

Mu-ch'i realized this better than anyone else. He did not paint landscapes in the ordinary sense of the word, but limitless space and reverberations of soundless harmony. The objective views seem to sink into the depths of his creative mind and to re-issue replete with a deeper meaning. What he painted, or suggested by suppressing as much as possible of the material limitations, is above all atmosphere – the life-breath of a vision, fragments of infinity mirrored in his consciousness. The forms

are indicated only in so far as they may serve to enhance this undefinable element.

As an example may be mentioned the picture of Returning Sails off a Distant Coast (Pl.345). Only at the one end of the composition is the foreshore indicated by some dark trees, while the distant mountains gradually dissolve in mist. The rest of the picture is free expanse. The only support that the eye can find are two small sailing-boats, which are more felt than actually seen; it is the gliding movement rather than their form which is perceived. But one cannot help feeling the chilly evening breeze; it sweeps the fog into long wisps and makes the soft tree-tops wave like giant plumes. The whole thing leaves the impression of a breath of wind, a movement in the air – all that gives wings to the imagination and makes us see something more than simply a few boats in mist (Pl.340).

The limitless space or atmosphere in which Mu-ch'i's landscapes are steeped and through which they receive their mysterious life-breath, is also to be found in some of the pictures of birds and flowers which pass under his name, though few, if any, of them are actually his own works. Yet they represent more or less successfully the general trend and character of his art. Among the better ones should be mentioned The Sparrows (in the Nezu collection) and The Bull-headed Shrike (Count Matsudaira (Pl.343)). The bird is here represented standing on an old trunk which bends diagonally across the picture field, the rest of it is empty space; only at the very top a slender twig of a pine-branch enters, making the beholder realize the spaciousness of the design. The large black bird which stands with its head sunk on its breast is like a symbol of introspective thought, the *samādhi* of the Ch'an philosopher. Seldom has a bird been endowed with more individual character. The picture is marked with the seal of the painter and is quite on a level with Mu-ch'i's works, yet

¹ A few of these pictures may have changed hands in later times, and become more difficult of access.

² The two last-named pictures are reproduced in Takagi, *Gyokkan Molekei Shosō Hakkei* . . . Kenkyū. Mr. Suenobu's picture perished during one of the air raids in Tokyo during the last war.

the actual brush-work is different, which has given cause to some doubts regarding the master.

In spite of its highly subjective character, Mu-ch'i's art exercised a far-reaching influence. This was most keenly felt by the men who lived as Ch'an monks in Liu-t'ung ssü or other temples in the neighbourhood of Hangchou towards the end of the Sung and during the early part of the Yüan period. It reached, however, further regions also as may be observed in the works of some more worldly painters in China as well as in Japan, and became an important element in the general modification of style which took place during the Yüan period and which by the end of the fourteenth century was also felt in Japan. The reason for this was that Mu-ch'i's art represented something more than a new manner of handling brush and ink, it was the result of a new spiritual impetus by which the artistic activity was reinvigorated. Wherever this influence from the teaching of the Ch'an masters was felt, the artists were brought into a more intimate relation with the inner significance of things. They were no longer simply observers of outward scenery or the like, but discoverers of something more important and more real, which they transmitted in pictorial symbols.

* * *

The paintings which represent the immediate following of Mu-ch'i form an intricate material for the art-historian. They are very numerous, particularly in Japanese collections, and mainly the works of painter-priests who are practically forgotten in China even though their names may be recorded in some books or local chronicles, but who are highly esteemed in Japan owing to the many excellent pictures by them which were imported in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for the collections of the early Ashikaga shoguns, or brought home by some of the Japanese Zen monks who visited China.

These pictures are as a rule typical examples of the kind of *i-p'in* (untrammelled) painting that we have observed in the works of Mu-ch'i, and though the individual temperaments in some instances are

clearly marked, the pictures all represent the same current of style and are not so easily distinguishable from each other. A thorough discussion and classification of this whole school or group of paintings would require more specialized studies than the author has been able to devote to it; only a few outstanding examples can here be discussed.

The earliest and in some respects most problematic of these painters were two monks commonly known under the appellation Yü-chien (The Jade Stream). They are both recorded in *T'u-hui pao-chien* (Vol.4), the one under the name of Ying Yü-chien, the other under the name of Jo-fên with the *hao* Yü-chien, and in addition to these there was a third painter who called himself Yü-chien, i.e. Mêng Chên, *tzü* Chi-shêng, but he was active at a later period (pictures dated 1326 and 1352) and may consequently be left out of consideration at this place. The records about Ying Yü-chien and Jo-fên are rather unequal; the note about the former is limited to the following words: "a monk in the Ching-tz'ü temple by the West Lake (in Hangchou) who as a landscape painter learned from Hui Ch'ung". The note about the latter is more informative:

"Jo-fên was a monk, his *tzü* Chung-shih, his family name Ts'ao, who served as a recorder in the Shang Chu temple (in Hangchou). He painted cloudy mountains to express his ideas. When crowds of people came to ask for his pictures he said: 'Dissemblance is certainly more acceptable to the world than the real thing. The tide on the Chi'en-t'ang in the eighth moon and the peaks around the West Lake after a snow shower: are they not the most wonderful sights in the world? Yet you gentlemen pay no heed to them, but on the contrary seek every ink-scrap by an old Taoist.'

"When he grew old, he retired to his native district and there, on a beautiful spot by a mountain stream, he built a pavilion which he called Yü-chien, a name which he adopted as his *hao*. He also built another pavilion overlooking the Fu-jung peak, and called himself 'The Master of the

Fu-jung Peak'. Once, on a picture representing bamboos, he wrote, 'If the old monk does not himself paint the bamboos, who will on the morrow bring tidings of safety and peace?'

These two masters have, alternatively, been made responsible for certain pictures in Japanese collections which may be roughly divided into two groups, *i.e.* three sections from a long scroll that represented The Eight Famous Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers (plus a small picture of an orchid plant) and, on the other hand, three (or four) studies of cloudy mountains such as the Lu Shan picture. The pictures in the former as well as in the latter of the two groups have poetic inscriptions, but while the former ones are unsigned the latter are marked Yü-chien.

The two groups are certainly related in style, yet they show sufficiently marked differences in execution to make it probable that they were painted by two distinct masters. Some modern Japanese specialists seem, however, to be inclined to consider them all as the works of one individual, *i.e.* Jo-fên, the more famous of the two.¹ However this may have been, we can consider the pictures in two groups, and leave the question whether these were done by one or two men open. If the latter supposition is correct, the two artists must have been active at approximately the same period, that is to say shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century.

Turning first to Jo-fên (*hao* Yü-chien), we have reason to suppose that he was a somewhat older contemporary of Mu-ch'i who became famous in Japan particularly through his rendering of the series of Eight Famous Views of Hsiao and Hsiang. These pictures by "Yü-chien" were as a matter of fact among the most highly appreciated treasures in the Higashiyama collection of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, admired and copied by Japanese artists such as Sesson. At that time, about the middle of the fifteenth century, Yü-chien's scroll had been cut up into eight separately mounted pictures (just like Mu-ch'i's scrolls representing the same motifs), which were sometimes hung in a hall in the

Higashiyama palace, as stated in the following note by Soami: "A series of pictures representing The Eight Views, painted by Yü-chien, greater in breadth than in height, hung on the eastern and the western small walls, four on each of them."²

The subsequent history of these pictures has been investigated by B. Takagi, but only three of them seem to have survived to the present day: A Mountain Village in Clearing Mist (formerly Matsudaira, now Yoshikawa collection), The Harvest Moon over the Tung-t'ing Lake (formerly Maeda collection, now in the National Museum), and Fishing-boats Returning to the Bay (Marquis Tokugawa, Nagoya). The two first-named have been made accessible in reproductions and may here serve as examples of the painter's style (Pl. 346). To describe them in detail is, however, not possible, because the motifs are dissolved into light washes and some darker splashes of ink; there are hardly any actual forms or objects in these pictures, though in the picture of a mountain village in mist one may discern traces of a winding path where two small figures are proceeding towards the hills, bridges and thickets of trees hiding buildings of which only the roof-lines are visible. The indications are slight, yet sufficient to create a definite picture with a local atmosphere diffused by means of light washes which blend with the subdued tone of the otherwise empty sheet. The poem on the picture contains a paraphrase on the motif in which various details, such as a sandy beach, a rainbow, and a sign of a wine shop, are mentioned, details which may have existed in the mind of the painter, but not found in the picture.

The same discrepancy between the actual picture and the poetic interpretation of it may be observed in the illustration of the Harvest Moon over the

¹ Cf. Matsushita's notes to the pictures attributed to Jo-fên in *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* (Tokyo, 1931). He also offers the information that Jo-fên returned to his home district in the Shao-ting era (1228-1233). Cf. O. Kimmel's condensed notes re the Yü-chien painters in *Allgemein. Künstler Lex.*, vol. 36.

² Cf. B. Takagi, *Gyokkan Mokei Shoshū hakkei-e to sono dentai-no kenkyū* (no date).

Tung-t'ing Lake. The picture consists mainly of light washes of greyish ink which hide the water, leaving the islands and distant mountains to be imagined rather than observed. Only at the very edge of the picture do some wooded hills emerge and a pavilion on the slope – spots of darker ink which are balanced at the opposite end by the poetic inscription (Pl.346). The inspiring undercurrent becomes more evident through the poem than in the painted expression of the same mood; to quote:

"The Yo-yang tower commands a serene view. Water extends all around. Beyond it mountains rise bathed in moonlight. We look up into the heavens and find there a blurred shape like the headdress of youth in its bloom. Suddenly the sound of a flute is heard, it sinks into the heart and reminds us of the difficult journey of life."¹ The picture is a vision of the unseen, it strikes a tone of longing which reverberates beyond the clouds like the sound of the flute.

A third section of the same scroll representing Fishing-boats Returning to the Bay (but also called Returning Sails far away on the River) forms part of the Tokugawa collection in Nagoya. It was included in the Sessu exhibition in Tokyo, 1956.

In addition to the above-mentioned sections of the Eight Views we should mention a small picture of a single epidendrum plant which has been ascribed to the same painter.² It is painted in the same manner as the *lan hua* by Ch'eng Ssü-hsiao, and is unsigned; the traditional attribution may be subject to revision. The inscription on this picture is by Yen-ch'i, Kuang-wên, a monk in the Ch'ing-tz'ü temple (1189-1263), i.e. the same place where Ying Yü-chien lived.

The pictures in the other group mentioned above are not distinguished by the same poetic suggestiveness as the sections of the Eight Views, though also pictorially interesting. They are painted with a broader brush in a kind of *p'o mo* manner combined with washes of light ink. Most important among these is the so-called Lu shan picture in the Nezu collection (nowadays classified as a free

Japanese version), which represents the top section of a series of wooded hills – rising like large ruffled haystacks through the vaporous layers of a light mist. A torrent is falling straight down from the foremost hill; the further ones are gradually absorbed by the mist. This peculiar mode of building up a composition so that it consists simply of the top sections of mountains or hills may also be observed in the picture in the Yoshikawa collection which looks like an incomplete version of the Lu Shan picture, whereas the one (formerly) in the Mutō collection shows a low beach with some trees at the foot of undulating hills. These pictures are all in the shape of short horizontal scrolls and have poetic inscriptions signed "Yü-chien". Stylistically they form a fairly homogeneous group, but they are, as said before, quite distinct from the above-mentioned sections of The Eight Famous Views of Hsiao and Hsiang, which according to the old tradition are also works by "Yü-chien".³ The stylistic differences seem to us sufficiently marked to justify the opinion that the pictures are the works of two different men, but since some Japanese specialists hold the opinion that they are all the works of one man, the monk Jo-fên, we must leave the question open. The essential point to us is not the relative inequality of these pictures but the fact that they include such supreme examples of monochrome impressionism as The Mountain Village in Clearing Mist and The Harvest Moon over Tung-t'ing Lake, which technically, if not practically, are even further advanced than Mu-ch'i's renderings of corresponding motifs.

Wu-chun was another of the artistic Ch'an monks who, so to speak, prepared the way for Mu-ch'i. By personal name Shih-fan, he was born c.1175, died 1259, lived for many years in the

¹ Cf. Takagi's free transcription, *op. cit.*, p.3.

² Reproduced in *Geien Shindzu*, 9. Cf. Kümmler, *op. cit.*

³ There is a fourth picture which is stylistically closely related to these three Yü-chien paintings in the Murayama collection in Ōsaka. It is a hanging scroll of moderate size and represents an agglomeration of hilly mountains rising above a beach where buildings appear among dark trees. Not signed. Reproduced in *Sōgen Meigashū*, Pl.46.

Ching-shan temple on Mount Yu-wang and is said to have been the teacher of Mu-ch'i. His fame for learning and purity also reached the court, and the emperor Li-tsung (1225-1264) bestowed on him the *hao* Fo-chien Ch'an-shih, i.e. Mirror of Buddha as Master of Ch'an. Three small pictures by him which formed part of the Higashiyama collection (now Tokugawa) represent Daruma and two later Ch'an teachers, Yu-shan-chu and Chên-huan-ning. They are very lightly sketched, but highly characteristic products of the sudden "flash" method that the Ch'an masters sought in meditation. A Japanese authority praises them for their "deep suggestiveness in the midst of great simplicity".¹

Lo-ch'uang was a younger Ch'an monk who belonged to the circle of Mu-ch'i. He is mentioned in *T'u-hui pao-chien* between Ying Yü-chien and Jo-fên with the short remarks that his family name was unknown, that he lived in Liu-t'ung ssü, and that his paintings were quite like those of Mu-ch'i. The two monk painters seem to have been practically contemporary, and as they lived in the same temple in Hangchow, they must have had much in common. Some of the bird-paintings which pass under the more famous name may perhaps have been painted by Lo-ch'uang. The pictures with signed inscriptions, including his name, represent large birds, alighting geese or herons, in combination with old lotus leaves, or, in one instance, a white cock under a bending bamboo. The manner of painting is rather like that of Mu-ch'i, though the brush-work is plainer, and more monotonous than in the Mu-ch'i pictures.

The poems which the painter in some instances has added on the pictures allude to the symbolic significance of the motifs.² For instance, he tells us that the cock possesses five virtues of the superior man (*chün tzü*), i.e. "he is crowned with a crest, which means *wên*, civil culture; his feet have spurs, signifying *wu*, martial vigour; he fights his enemies, which means courage, *yung*; if he finds food, he tells the others, which means trustworthiness, *hsin*".

It is interesting to note that the virtues which

Lo-ch'uang has expressed symbolically in his picture of the white cock are of a distinctly Confucian order, a fact that may serve to throw some light on the eclectic spirit prevailing in Buddhist circles at the time and which also influenced to some extent the trend of art.

Li Ch'üeh was another painter of merit who followed the same current of style. He is recorded in *T'u-hui pao-chien* (Vol.4) as a close follower of Liang K'ai, who served as a *chih hou* in the Academy of Painting. His style has been transmitted through two excellent ink-paintings belonging to the Myōshinji (temple) in Kyōto, which represent two rustic legendary monks known as Pu-tai and Fêng-kan. The former is signed by the artist, and they both have poems by the monk Kuang-wên (1189-1236) which confirm that Li Ch'üeh also belonged to the Ch'an circles in the Southern capital. The artistic significance of these pictures depends mainly on the masterly brush-work and the flow of ink in well-controlled lines and touches which seem to swell and shrink as they transmit the pulse-beat or life-breath of the painter³ (PL.351).

The monk Tsu-wêng is not recorded in the Chinese chronicles but mentioned in *Kundaikan*, where he is, however, wrongly placed among the Yüan painters. The inscription on one of his pictures by the Ch'an master Huang-wên, who died in 1260, proves that he was active about the middle of the thirteenth century. The picture represents the famous Sixth Patriarch Hui-nêng, carrying a long stick on his shoulder with a hatchet tied to it, and is painted with the same masterly concentration as Li Ch'üeh's figures, though with a lighter brush which has left the imprint of a more fugitive flash of thought.⁴

¹ Cf. *Kokka* 243.

² Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, XIII, Wakimoto's note on the picture by Lo-ch'uang in the Asano collection.

³ These pictures have been combined with a third, representing Daruma, to form a triptych, but the central piece is not the work of Li Ch'üeh. Cf. *Kokka* 269 and *Bijutsu Kenkyū* No.15.

⁴ Tsu-wêng's picture of the Sixth Patriarch was formerly in the Kawasaki collection, now in the Ohara collection in Okayama. Another picture by the master, representing Putai, is now in the National Museum, Tokyo.

Only a painter deeply steeped in Ch'an meditation could do such a thing.

The number of artistically well-trained monks who carried on the tradition of Ch'an painting at the end of the Sung and the beginning of the Yüan dynasty was no doubt considerable, though relatively few of them have been recorded, and it also included men from foreign lands. Yin-t'o-lo (known in Japan as Indara) was one of them. He is completely unknown in the Chinese literature but mentioned in *Kundaikan*, and more than a dozen of his works have been preserved in Japanese collections. Several of them are signed and provided with inscriptions (by himself or contemporary Ch'an priests), from which it results that he was born in Magadha in India but lived in the T'ien-chu temple near Hangchow (in the second half of the thirteenth century) and possibly also in the Shang-fang yu-kuo temple in K'ai-feng. He must have enjoyed a great reputation as a Ch'an teacher as well as an artist, because most of his pictures bear poetic comments by prominent monks of the period. They were apparently admired for their symbolic or illustrative significance.

The pictures by Yin-t'o-lo seem all to have been done with a didactic purpose in mind, though at the same time they are characteristic products of the kind of untrammelled ink-painting which corresponded to the sudden methods of Ch'an. They represent some of those extraordinary characters from the history of Ch'an Buddhism who by their eccentric behaviour stirred the students and made them realize that there is "a realm unreachable by the senses and logic based on them".¹ He has painted the dancing Pu-tai, the Bodhidharma crossing the river on a reed-leaf, the pair of lunatic poets with a broom and a writing brush known as Han-shan and Shih-tê, and several of the famous Ch'an masters of T'ang times such as Yao-shan, whose uproarious laughter at the moon resounded over the whole district, and Tan-hsia, who burned the Buddha statue in order to demonstrate the uselessness of idolatry, etc. Pictures of this kind were no doubt

meant to illustrate the difference between the Ch'an masters and ordinary people, who are chained by moral and intellectual conventionalism. By rendering these motifs in a manner just as free and spontaneous as the characters here represented, the pictures may become "refreshing and stimulating", even though the characterization sometimes borders on caricature and the continuous repetition of the laughing types strikes us as monotonous when they are seen in numbers (Pls. 350, 352, 353).

The majority of these pictures are relatively small horizontal compositions, now mounted as hanging scrolls, but formerly parts of a continuous handscroll which illustrated the stories about prominent Ch'an teachers. Sections of this scroll are reproduced in *Kokka*, 173 (ex Tsuruga collection), Tan-hsia burning the Buddha statue; *Kokka* 201 (ex Kuroda collection), Yao-shan speaking to Li Ao; *Kokka* 419 (Asano collection), Han-shan and Shih-tê in conversation; *Sōgen Meigashū*, Pl. 53 (Nezu collection), Putai and devotee; Iwasaki collection, Kuei-tsung and Chang-chieh; and a fifth picture in private possession in Kyūshū. The single figures of Han-shan and Shih-tê in the Mayeyama collection² and in the National Museum, Tokyo, are more interesting as works of art, though of a cruder kind than Liang K'ai's or Mu-ch'i's figures.

Another priest who, although not belonging to the Ch'an school, made ink-drawings of Bodhidharma and other Buddhist patriarchs in somewhat the same fashion as Yin-t'o-lo was P'u-kuang, whose *tzū* was Yüan-hui, and *hao*, Hsiieh-an. He is said to have been the head of a religious sect called the Dhuta and to have served as a professor in the Chao-wên College in the reign of Kublai Khan. He was active still in 1312.³ According to tradition, P'u-kuang painted landscapes in the style of Kuan T'ung, and bamboos in the manner of Wên T'ung, but the

¹ Cf. Suzuki, *The Zen Life in Pictures, Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Third Series, Kyoto, 1934.

² *Sōgen Meigashū*, Pls. 51, 52. Further pictures by the master in *Kokka* 110, 223, 310, 392, 383 and 612.

³ Cf. Waley, *Index*, and Pelliot, *T'oung P'ao*, 1922, p. 351.

only paintings by him nowadays known are a series of nineteen album leaves representing Bodhidharma, Pu-tai, and seventeen Lohans, in the Iwasaki's collection, Seikado.¹ The pictures are interesting as examples of the last degree of simplification of the pure ink-style, a highly abbreviated manner, as it is called, and their artistic significance is rather limited. The figures are indicated by almost bare outlines, written down with the same swift and easy brush as the grass characters which accompany each one of these Lohans. They may be said to have received by this a breath of momentary life, like fleeting thoughts, but they have not as yet matured as works of art. The general shape is sometimes brought out suggestively, when the figure is shown in profile, or from the back, wrapped in a loose mantle, but when the artist uncovers the body and gives details, such as hands or feet, he misses the essentials. P'u-kuang was evidently more of a calligraphist, who translated forms into conventional symbols (Pl. 354).

It may seem surprising that the Ch'an painters also treated such a rustic and untamed motif as water-buffaloes, but it should be remembered that of all the domestic animals these cattle were the most familiar to them. The herding of buffaloes was, according to tradition, an occupation which also had its symbolic significance; the series known as Ten Cow-herding Pictures, showing the upward steps of spiritual training, was often used in instruction by Ch'an masters.² Characteristic references to buffaloes are found in the Ch'an literature, as for instance: "Tai-an asked Pai-chang, 'I wish to know about the Buddha, what is he?' Answered Pai-chang, 'It is like seeking for an ox while you yourself are on it.' 'What shall I do after I know?' 'It is like going home riding on it.' 'How do I look after it all the time in order to be in accordance with Dharma?' The

master then told him, 'You should behave like a cowherd, who, carrying a staff, sees to it that his cattle won't wander away into somebody else's rice-fields'."

Some of the pictures representing buffaloes with herd-boys mentioned in a preceding chapter may well have contained an undercurrent of Ch'an ideas, though not expressed in the untrammelled *p'o mo* manner which became so popular at the very end of the Sung period. Here may be added a few words about two such pictures which in their motifs as well as in their pictorial qualities are characteristic exponents of Ch'an ideals.³ They are traditionally attributed to a painter called Chang Fang-ju, who is unrecorded in China but mentioned in *Kundaikan* (40). They form a pair, one representing the buffalo grazing at some distance from a boy who is sitting on the river-bank, with his back turned towards the animal, and is busy with a fishing-rod – apparently unconscious of his Buddha nature – while the other picture represents the boy riding on the buffalo and carrying a large bag on a rod over his shoulder – perhaps somewhat more conscious of that treasure within him. The compositions are unilateral and very effectively spaced by bits of tree trunks and branches which project from one side into the field, accentuating its height and airiness. From a formal point of view akin to the landscapes of the Ma-Hsia school, they are executed in a manner which is more impressionistic than the methods of the academicians. In fact, the execution is just as characteristic of the "sudden" method of Ch'an as the spacing of the designs and the appeal of the motifs (Pl. 355).

¹ Cf. *Kokka* 333, reproductions of some of the pictures.

² Cf. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series, 1927), p. 356.

³ Formerly in the Dan collection. Reproduced in *Sōgen Meigashū*, pp. 49, 50.

Painters of Dragons and Fishes

ONE VERY significant motif of Chinese painting, to some extent also cultivated by the Ch'an-painters, was the Dragon, a mystic, fantastic and awe-inspiring being, swift as lightning, strong as a storm-wind, which appears among clouds and mist, visible only to those whose enlightened minds are open to the great spiritual forces of Nature. We have mentioned some of Mu-ch'i's representations of this supreme symbol of cosmic energy, and also some earlier examples, but there were other artists at the end of the Sung period who specialized in dragon-painting and carried it to a high degree of perfection. As the visionary motif demanded unflinching concentration and an immediate transmission of the flashing image, their mode of creation corresponded very closely to that of the Ch'an painters, even though they may not have lived in temples or been formal adherents of Ch'an practices.

The most prominent among the early dragon-painters are shortly recorded by T'ang Hou in some introductory remarks to his appreciation of Ch'ên Jung, his great contemporary. He says that all through life he had paid very close attention to dragon-paintings, and regrets that the works by such famous masters of antiquity as the fabulous Yeh (of the Han period) and Ts'ao Fu-hsing (of the fourth century) could no longer be seen. Nor did he know any of the marvellous dragon-paintings by Chang Sêng-yu or Wu Tao-tzu except through traditional records. Yet, in the home of a friend of his, Mr. Ch'ien in Tung-chê, he had seen two sets of dragon-paintings, each consisting of six very large hanging scrolls, which could be dated to the T'ang period.¹

Each set represented a huge dragon executed in a bold manner with the utmost vigour – "I do not know what kind of brush had been used", he writes, but the manner reminded him of Wu Tao-tzu's, and the inscription on the picture read: "The Divine Dragon which is Moved by Prayers for Rain". In other words, these were representations of the Great Messengers of Heaven to whom fervent prayers for seasonable rain and good harvest were directed by the common peasants as well as by the emperors on behalf of the whole nation.

T'ang Hou then passes on to painters of the Five Dynasties and the Sung period and says that he had seen "fourteen or fifteen dragon-paintings by Ch'uan-ku", and that he himself possessed thirty pictures by the artist. He praises Ch'uan-ku in particular for his skill in representing "the coiling and wriggling movement of the ascending and descending dragons", but qualifies his praise by the statement that Ch'uan-ku "could not avoid being (tied by) the rules of painting". The remark is further explained by the words: "If the artist is fettered by the rules, his work will lack the idea of cosmic transformations (*pien hua*). Consequently dragon-painting is the most difficult."

A closer discussion of what was meant by the so-called *pien hua* in dragon-painting would carry us too far into Taoist cosmology and must here be left out, but it seems that this demanded, from a pictorial point of view, that the dragons should not be

¹ T'ang Hou makes some remarks on dragon-paintings in two different contexts in *Hua Chien*. Cf. *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu*, edit. I.B., vol. 9, Chapt. 3, pp. 7 and 10.

too formal but rather convey the impression of fantastic celestial beings, swift and vehement as lightning, suddenly appearing and disappearing among clouds, waxing and waning like the moon, their appearances suggesting, or reflecting, continuous transformations or metamorphoses. Such a being could evidently not be grasped in final form; it had to be a symbol of cosmic forces in action, a messenger of potent spiritual influences.

Ch'uan-ku was a monk from Ssü-ming and active still at the very beginning of the Sung dynasty. He became well known for his dragon-paintings, which he made so very life-like because he had had the rare fortune of meeting a real dragon! But since no picture of his has been transmitted, nor any description of this memorable event in the painter's life, we cannot form any opinion as to the appearance of the marvellous being that became his inspiring guide.

Tung Yü, who belonged to the following generation was, however, a still more important dragon-painter. T'ang Hou places him above Ch'uan Ku and says that "he was not fettered by too much formal likeness" – which perhaps also may have been the reason for Mi Fei's remark that "Tung Yü's dragons looked like fishes" – whereas "Ch'uan Ku's dragons looked like centipedes", according to the same critic.

The master, as a matter of fact, enjoyed great fame in the reign of the emperor T'ai-tsung (976-997), for whom he painted some of his most terrifying dragons. But, alas, they have all disappeared from the eyes of mortals. Tung Yü's name has, however, been attached to certain discussions of dragon-painting which are included in the treatise called *Hua-p'u*, usually, though without good reason, ascribed to the Ming painter T'ang Yin. The whole booklet is nowadays considered as apocryphal, but it seems to contain extracts from various earlier sources now lost, among which must have been an essay on dragon-painting, possibly of the time or following Tung Yü.¹ A few extracts from this may here be communicated as examples of the rather abstruse speculations attached to the motif before

we proceed to the study of some actual specimens of dragon-painting from the end of the Sung period. The introduction gives the philosophical background:

"Dragon-painting should be in accordance with the Way of the Spirit and the Life-breath. The Spirit is like the mother, and the Life-breath is like the child. When Spirit summons the Life-breath as the mother summons the child, how would it dare not to come? Consequently, dragons should rise to heaven through dense mist and layers of clouds, or immerse themselves in the bottomless depths of turbulent waters where no human eye can reach them.

"Ancient as well as modern painters have found it difficult to investigate their forms and shapes. The dragon's form may be divided into three sections and nine similarities: the first is from the head to the neck, the second from the neck to the belly, the third from the belly to the tail; these are the three sections. The nine similarities are: the head like that of a bull, the muzzle like a donkey's, the eyes like shrimps', the horns like those of a deer, the ears like an elephant's, the scales like those of fishes, the beard like a man's, the body like a serpent's, the feet like the Fêng-bird's. These are the nine similarities.

"There is a difference between the male and the female dragon: the male has horns and his body always writhes violently. He has deep-set eyes, wide-open nostrils, a pointed beard and compact scales; the body is strong towards the head and diminishing towards the tail. He is red as fire, grand and beautiful. The female dragon has no horns, and her body forms quite flat waves. The eyes stand out, the muzzle is cut straight, the mane is curly, the scales sparse, and the tail is stronger than the body.

"Dragons with open mouths are easy to represent, but those with closed mouths are difficult to do. You must paint them with a sweeping brush and flowing ink so as to bring out the life of the muscles and the bones, but in order to express the essence and the spirit of the dragon perfectly, you must give

¹ The critical remarks about T'ang Yin's *Hua-p'u* in *Shu-hua shu-lu chieh-t'i*.

him awe-inspiring, bloody eyes, an impetuously moving red beard, mist-hoarding scales, a bristling mane, hair on the knees, claws, and teeth. Make him spit and hide in rain and mist-dew, make him skip and gambol as he soars through space – then, when the eyes are put in, he will fly away like the dragons of Chang Sêng-yu and master Yeh.”¹

Returning to T'ang Hou's presentation of the successive dragon-painters, we are introduced to Ch'ên Jung, an older contemporary of the author, who partly owing to the account of his eccentric personality and manner of working and partly because of a still existing superb picture, nowadays stands out as the foremost of all Chinese dragon-painters. He is characterized by T'ang Hou as follows: “In our time there is Mr. Ch'ên Jung, who originally was an adherent of the Confucianist school. In his dragon-paintings he has grasped the idea of cosmic transformations. He makes clouds by splashing the ink (*p'o mo*). He forms vapours by spitting water. When he is very drunk he shouts loudly, takes off his cap and soaks it in the ink and then smears and rubs with it. Afterwards he finishes the picture with his brush. The dragons ascend and descend, they bend down in order to exhale the vapours, they look around full of rage, they squat down and clasp the rocks with their claws, they approach each other in order to fight, they ride the clouds and jump through vapours, fighting each other as they rise out of the waters, they play with pearls and quarrel for them. In some cases the whole body is visible, in others only a shoulder or the head is dimly visible and not clearly defined. He makes them without any apparent carefulness and yet they are all divine and wonderful. Could it be that he holds a gift from Heaven in his bosom?”

In spite of the eccentricities which, according to the above account, characterized Ch'ên Jung (best known under his *hao*, So-wêng), he seems to have been capable of serving as a government official, first in the position of a magistrate in Shansi, then in Kiangsi and finally as governor of P'u-t'ien in Fukien, his native province. He had passed his *chin*

shih degree in 1235 and received also some recognition as a poet in the bold and heroic style, particularly in the Pao-yu era (1253–1258). His fame with posterity rests, however, entirely on his paintings of dragons, some of which seem to have been preserved. In addition to the dragon-paintings he is said to have executed some “pictures of bamboo and pine-trees in a manner as graceful as willows and as strong as iron hooks and chains. Towards the end of his life his brush-manner became more and more simple. His pictures executed in colours were equal to those of Tung Yü.”²

At least a dozen dragon-paintings are today associated with the name of Ch'ên Jung, and most of these are provided with the painter's signature, but the difference in quality between the best and the less good among them is so marked that they cannot all be accepted as works by the same master, though they are connected or united in a group by their style and motifs. They all represent dragons of the same race: intensely wild and ferocious apparitions from another plane of existence than the human world, seething with the energy of a whirlwind as they soar through the clouds, and whipping the spring water into foam as they issue from the caverns and fissures of the mountains. They are not made after the models of any terrestrial being but rather as zoomorphic condensations of the clouds and the mist on which they soar, or of the eruptive forces which dwell in the hearts of the mountains. They represent an element unknown to us humans and are thus more closely associated with the main spring of Nature's transformations.

The most convincing representations of these visionary beings are the Nine Dragons Appearing through Clouds and Waves depicted on a long (11 m.) handscroll in the Boston Museum. Here the dragons unfold themselves in the most varied movements, and intricate interlacements with the

¹ A dragon-painter active during the former Han dynasty. (Cf. Giles, *Introduction*, p. 3.)

² From *Min-hua chi*, quoted in *Shu-hua p'u*, vol. 51.

trails of mist and water. To describe this long scroll in detail seems as impossible as to paint in words the seething storm that lashes the waves into foam and scatters the clouds into vapour. Nor can small pieces out of this long continuous composition give any idea of its dramatic beauty, the rhythmic movement and grandeur of the whole design. From the inscription referring to various legends about dragons and dragon-painting, which the painter has added to his works,¹ it becomes evident that his main idea was to express through the symbols of the Nine Dragons the operation of Tao, the supreme principle of all manifested life. He has done this in a picture of cosmic sweep, with brush-strokes that have the speed and strength of the storm-wind, unrolling before our eyes symbolically the spiritual force that penetrates or vitalizes the furious battle of the elements (Pls. 356-359).

The picture is also one of the great historical documents of Chinese painting. It is provided with more than fifty inscriptions and seals (fifteen on the picture itself, the rest as colophons) by emperors, scholars, priests, and poets, among which the poems by Ch'ien-lung are most in evidence. The artist himself has added two inscriptions, a lengthy one in verse referring to Taoist dragon-legends, as mentioned above, and a short one containing the date 1244 (when the picture was painted) with the following remark about its fate: "Again this scroll has come into the possession of my nephew. Surely the divinely inspired thing has found its allotted place - a Taoist abode."

The quality of the brush-work is here completely in keeping with the intensity of the conception, the rhythm of the design and the flashing speed of the pictorial ideas. None of the other so-called Ch'ên Jung pictures is on the same level of artistic significance. The best among them is the small picture (possibly a fragment?) in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City which represents five slim dragons interlaced into a kind of knot from which they cannot detach themselves; they are grappling, biting, clawing and slashing each other furiously, but

nevertheless remain tied together in a whirl of incessant movement (Pl. 360).

A minor handscroll in which the dragons are represented in combination with gushing streams in the caverns is now divided among various collections; two sections of it are in the Boston Museum, two others in the Metropolitan Museum, and two more in the Suzuki collection (*Kokka* 550). They are evidently not painted by the same master as the larger scroll in Boston, but by an inferior though rather faithful follower.

Two important sections of a different scroll, representing three or four dragons in clouds, belonged formerly to Count Sakai and are reproduced among Ch'ên Jung's works in *Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan*, vol. IX, Pls. 80, 81, but as far as can be seen in the plates, the brush-work is in these pictures of inferior quality.

The section of a handscroll formerly in the collection of Baron Yokoyama (*Tōyō*, vol. IX, Pl. 79) is remarkable for the combination of a landscape with the dragons. There is a rocky shore beyond a torrent and some large trees in front of the dragons' mist-enveloped mountain cave, elements which contribute to make the composition more romantic. The picture is furthermore inscribed with a poem signed by the painter. If this is correct, which hardly can be ascertained from the reproduction, the picture would be an important addition to Ch'ên Jung's somewhat uniform compositions. However this may be, it is evident that the large scroll in Boston holds a place of its own not only in Ch'ên Jung's individual *œuvre* but among all the Chinese dragon paintings still preserved. It transmits beautifully some of the essential ideas and influences connected with this central motif of Chinese art in all ages.

* * *

Beside the dragons some other aquatic entities such as fishes and crabs may be recalled which also

¹ Cf. John E. Lodge's article about this scroll in the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, December 1917.

attracted the interest of a number of painters. In the index of paintings according to their motif in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*, fishes are classified together with dragons. They had also a kind of symbolic meaning to the Chinese, particularly carp, which were emblems of virile strength, as they are able to swim up stream, and sometimes were said to change into dragons, and thus became symbols of a more spiritual kind of vitality. According to an old legend alluded to in some of the fish-paintings, there was once a carp which swam up the Yellow River, leaped the rapids at Lung-mên, and on the third day of the third month became a dragon.

There were famous artists already in the Five Dynasties period who are said to have done nothing but fish-painting, as for instance, Yüan I and Hsü Po. But, to quote T'ang Hou, "if we look at their works they appear to be nothing more than things for table and knife. They only arouse in the beholder an appetite for a nice meal of minced fish." "But", he continues, "there is the refined courtier Liu Ts'ai, who painted fishes in water; they can be seen moving among duck-weed and other aquatic grasses. Their scales and characteristic appearances as they swim and hide in the deep, turning around in the water, etc., are wonderfully rendered. I have seen several pictures of his in my life, and lately I saw his picture representing a fish swimming under falling blossoms. There is one branch of red peach-blossoms which are dropping their petals, and a carp swimming under it, making ripples on the water. The falling blossoms express deeply the poetic sentiment of the painter".

This motif, i.e. fishes swimming under blossoming trees stretching their branches over the water, became a favourite one among poet-painters of later generations.

Liu Ts'ai, *tzü* Tao-yüan, *hao* Hung-tao was active in the Shên-tsung reign (1068-1085) and though he painted only fish, he became much appreciated and recognized as the first leading master of this speciality. His name was consequently used rather freely for fish-paintings (both formerly in Manchu

Household collection) but none of them is provided with the painter's own signature. The best examples of this kind of painting known to me are the scrolls in the City Museum in St. Louis, and the one representing shoals of very slender and lithe fishes playing among aquatic plants¹ (Pl. 361).

It is a remarkably intimate study of the subtle grace and mobility of these mute play-fellows among the plants in a lake. We are reminded of another minor rendering of a similar motif on an album leaf in the Metropolitan Museum, which, however, is traditionally ascribed to the very little-known painter Chao K'o-hsiung, said to have been a member of the imperial house. Both these painters were active in the North Sung period.

The best-known fish-painters of the South Sung period were Fan An-jên and Ch'ên K'o-chiu, who both became *tai chao* in the Academy of Painting in the Pao-yu era (1253-1258). The latter is said to have painted not only fishes but also "trees and flowers of the four seasons in the manner of Hsü Hsi". His brush-work was light, and he used fresh and bright colours. But no works of his seem to have been transmitted.

Fan An-jên, who came from Ch'ien-t'ang in Chekiang, worked exclusively in monochrome ink. His *tzü* was Lai-tzû, but he was commonly nicknamed Fan-t'a (The Otter), probably because he was so familiar with aquatic life in water, fishes, crabs and sea-weed. The picture in the Murayama collection in Ōsaka is an excellent example of his work. It represents a number of fishes of various kinds and sizes swimming among slender plants growing from the bottom of the water where a broad crab is watching the swift movements of the fishes. A somewhat larger picture in the Museum in Boston, representing Two Carp Leaping among Waves, has sometime also been ascribed to him. It is executed in monochrome much like the preceding picture, though on a larger scale (measuring 2 m. square). The motif is typical, often repeated in Chinese art, owing to its symbolism which is

¹ Reproduced in *I-shu ch'uan-t'ung*, vol. VI.

connected with the energetic movement of the fish as it leaps the rapids.

In spite of their muteness, fishes seem to have been no less expressive or significant to the Chinese than birds and flowers. Chuang-tzū's conversation with Hui-tzū on the Hao bridge is classical evidence of this. A reference to this may be found on the long scroll (from the Bahr collection) in the Metropolitan Museum called *The Pleasure of Fishes*. According to the signature it is the work of Chou Tung-ch'ing from Lin-chiang, a little-known painter active from the South Sung into the Yüan period. The present picture, which is dated 1291, may be a late work of his. It shows a great variety of fishes swimming between and above aquatic plants, the larger ones in pairs, the smaller ones in shoals. At the end of the

scroll is the following inscription by the painter: "Not being a fish yourself, how can you know the pleasure of fishes? That is the idea expressed in the picture. If you want to grasp the secret of this, you must realize that there is no difference between being and non-being."

The words, freely transcribed after Chuang-tzū, may indeed seem more startling than the simple picture. Being inspired by Taoist lore, the expression "being and non-being" may refer to the relative degrees of conscious enjoyment of which human beings, on the one hand, and fishes, on the other, are capable. How could the happiness of these silvent beings be depicted if not by diving in thought into those vast sources of life by which they thrive?

Paintings of Plum-blossoms, Orchids, Grape-vine and Lotus-flowers

AMONG THE various branches of painting which received new impetus from Ch'an philosophy and its pantheistic attitude towards all manifestations of life, may here be recorded in particular certain forms of flower and fruit-painting: not the kind of traditional illustrative representations of such motifs that was so highly developed in the emperor Hui-tsung's Academy, but certain freer, more expressionistic forms of flower-painting in which the symbolic significance of the motifs was more emphasized than their formal likeness. The favourite motifs for such paintings were the plum-blossoms, the early harbingers of spring and bright evidences of Nature's ever recurring self-regeneration; they now received a significance far beyond their mere pictorial beauty. The same was also true, though in a more limited sense, of the *lan-lua* (a kind of orchid, also called epidendrum) whose subdued but indelible perfume gave them a national as well as an individual significance, and of the *shui-hsien*, water-fairies or wild narcissi, symbolizing a fresh and unsullied maiden beauty that required the most sensitive brush to be properly interpreted.

Most of these pictures were done in ink only; their artistic expression was pre-eminently a matter of the flow of the brush-stroke, the ductility of the unbroken lines, as may be seen for instance in the long curves of the epidendrum leaves. The same applies to the pictures of grape-vines in which the winding stems and tendrils form rhythmic patterns of the fascinating, though illegible kind that we know from the running grass-script.

These motifs were by no means exclusive, though

perhaps the most characteristic of the painters who took over the Ch'an attitude, or steeped themselves in Taoist lore. There were also flower-paintings of a more decorative kind, such as the often recurring representations of lotus-flowers rising on high stems out of muddy water, swaying to soft breezes from the Western Paradise, or the rich and colourful mu-tan, perfect symbols of material wealth and grandeur without the spiritual atmosphere of the lotus. Others could be added, but it may not be necessary, because whatever ideas or names were attached to the flowers, the artistic significance of all these pictures depended on the revelation of the secrets of Nature in the opening of a bud or the transmission of the breath of life in a radiant calyx.

* * *

Plum-blossom painting existed as a speciality in China from the early days of the Sung dynasty. It formed a kind of parallel to bamboo-painting and was cultivated in particular by poets and amateurs who were inspired by Taoist ideas, further developed and transmitted in the teachings and practices of the Ch'an philosophers. It became thus an important means or motif for expressing the silent poetry or throbbing life-breath of Nature in pictorial symbols. The essentials of these pictorial renderings were not the actual shapes, colours or formal features of the blossoms (even though these were closely studied), but the suggestion of an inner life, flashes of something that was not to be copied or described. To reach this the painters used to observe the shadows of blossoming plum-trees on

their transparent paper windows on moon-lit nights. They saw them transformed by the magic light of the moon into living pictures tremulous with a mysterious life-breath, and their endeavour was to fix in a few strokes of the brush the witchery in revelation of the indwelling spirit of branch and blossom.

The great popularity of plum-blossom painting during the Sung and later periods was, however, not merely a matter of Taoist ideas and poetic interpretations, it was also nourished by national and moral standards of a more general kind. Plum-blossoms, just like the bamboo, became in current conception symbols of noble purity and unflinching courage or endurance, in different ways signifying parallel virtues, the bamboos by remaining green and fresh all through the cold season and never breaking under the storm, the plum-blossoms by appearing on seemingly dead trees while the ground was still covered with snow. They became thus harbingers of new life, signs and evidence that the vital sap had not been quenched in the old trees during the season of frost and dearth. As a consequence of such ideas plum-blossom painting flourished most abundantly in periods of political oppression and national disasters, offering to the poets and patriots means of expressing their hearts in silent and significant symbols comprehensible to everybody.

The painters of plum-blossoms thus became quite numerous in the South Sung period, but comparatively few of their original works have been preserved. Their artistic conceptions and mode of painting are, however, well known, because they were faithfully continued by prominent artists in the Yüan and Ming periods and discussed in special treatises on plum-blossom painting, so called *Mei-p'u*, dealing with the symbolic significance of the blossoms as well as with their pictorial representation.

The oldest of these plum-blossom specialists was the monk Chung-jên, better known under the appellation Hua-kuang, which he received from the

Hua-kuang shan monastery at Hêng-chou in Hunan, where he probably spent most of his life. Very little is known about his life and work except that he was active in the Yüan-yu era (1087-1093) and up to the very beginning of the twelfth century, as may be concluded from the colophon written in 1104 by Huang T'ing-chien on a picture by Hua-kuang. The writing is a beautiful testimony to the friendship between the painter and the poet, both deeply steeped in the same kind of Ch'an philosophy. It is introduced with the following words: "Hua-kuang chung-jên showed me some scrolls with poems by Ch'in Kuan and Su Shih. As we opened the scrolls and thought of those two great scholars who have passed away and never will return, we sighed deeply. Then Hua-kuang painted for me some branches of plum-blossoms and a misty landscape with far-away mountains inspired by the rhythm of Ch'in Kuan's poems."

No authentic paintings by Hua-kuang have, to my knowledge, survived, though the name of the painter has been attached to various pictures as well as to the treatise known as the *Hua-kuang Mei-p'u*, which is considered the prototype of several later treatises on the same subject. The text of it exists, however, only in a Yüan edition, and it is evident that this redaction cannot date from the beginning of the twelfth century, one of the reasons being that it contains a concluding chapter by the painter Yang Pu-chih, who was born only shortly before 1100. It is, as a matter of fact, not a unified composition but a compilation of fragments possibly borrowed from various treatises or based on oral traditions which evidently were arranged sometime after the middle of the twelfth century by Yang Pu-chih, who was a close follower of the Hua-kuang tradition. He was too young to have been the personal pupil of the old master, but he seems to have associated with a later man, also called Hua-kuang, who lived in the Hui-li temple in Chinkiang. His name is attached to two minor paintings in the Palace Museum which will be mentioned in the following.

The text of the *Mei-p'u*, traditionally associated

with Hua-kuang, and probably edited by Yang Pu-chih, offers, as said above, certain unsolved historical problems, but it contains no doubt some ideas originating from Hua-kuang, and some parts of it may be quoted here as an introduction to the study of plum-blossom paintings by later men.¹

The first section contains certain biographical traditions about Hua-kuang and his way of painting, which are textually the same as in *Hua-shih hui yao* by Chu Mou-yin. They were evidently introduced towards the end of the Yüan period. Then follow the "Remarks about the Secret of the Blossoms" (*K'ou chieh*), which is the most important section from the viewpoint of art. The following section, the "Meaning of their Shapes" (*Ch'ü hsiang*) is a highly speculative dissertation based on Taoist philosophy and has no connexion with the art of painting. The fourth section is the "Summing-up" or "Concluding Remarks", a short addition by Yang Wu-chiu (Pu-chih). The fifth and sixth sections are still later additions called "Hua-kuang's Infatuation" and the "Difficult Points of Pu-chih", respectively. The most interesting of these highly heterogeneous parts are the two first ones, here to be quoted:²

"The painting of plum-blossoms in ink started with Hua-kuang. This virtuous old man was extremely fond of them and planted a great number of plum-trees at his temple retreat. When they were in blossom he moved his couch (or cushion) under the

trees and hummed and chanted all day long; no one understood his intentions. Once on a moonlit night when he could not sleep he looked at the play of the quiet and lovely shadows on his window, and sought to imitate their shapes with the brush. When morning dawned he found that the pictures were filled with the ideas of moonlight. Consequently, he liked to paint (plum-trees in this way) and grasped their secret, and his paintings became appreciated everywhere.

"When Shan-ku (Huang T'ing-chien) saw them, he found them very beautiful and said: 'They are immaculate (like the flowers one sees) when walking on a cool and clear morning along the hedges of a country village; only the fragrance is missing'. Every year many scholars and officials asked in vain for his pictures, whereas those who did not ask, obtained them quite easily.

"Whenever Hua-kuang was going to paint he would burn incense and steep himself in meditation. But when the inspiring thought arose, he completed the whole thing with one sweep of the brush. Someone said to him jokingly: 'Wang Tzū-yu of old liked bamboos; why do you have such a weakness for plum-trees?' To which Hua-kuang answered gravely: 'The two can never be compared' - an answer which pleased those who heard it very much. The older he grew, the further he penetrated into his art, the more wonderful it became.

¹ The various *Mei-p'u* published in China in the South Sung and Yüan periods have been discussed by Tanaka Toyozo in an essay in *Tōyō Bifutai Tan-sō* (1941) from which the following points may be quoted: The *Hua-kuang Mei-p'u* contains the oldest elements, but was compiled in its present form in the second half of the twelfth century. The *Mei-p'u* by Fan Ch'eng-ta, tsü Shih-hu, was written some time afterwards in a manner similar to that of other existing treatises on bamboo, chrysanthemum, peony, etc. It is intended to serve as a guide for painters and students of plum-blossoms. It contains no reference to *Hua-kuang Mei-p'u*, but Yang Pu-chih is mentioned with the following remark: "In all the pictures by him that I have seen, only the branches are well rendered. The brush-work is bold and extraordinary, yet there are no real plum-blossoms."

Mei-hua hsi-shün p'u was composed by Sung Po-jên, tsü Chih-chih, who served as an official in the Chia-hsi era (1237-1240). It was first published in 1261; a modern reproduction of the book was brought out by the Commercial Press in Shanghai

1930. The book consists of 100 woodcut reproductions of drawings representing plum-blossoms in various stages of development and is accompanied by short poetic inscriptions, but there is no descriptive text. In the preface the author expresses his enjoyment of the plum-blossoms in spring, but says also that he did not compose a treatise about the way of painting the blossoms, "because that is the art well described and practised by Hua-kuang and Yang Wu-chiu, and I am not able to do what they did".

Sung-chai mei-p'u by Wu Ta-su was published in 1351. The materials from the earlier books *Hua-kuang Mei-p'u* and *Shih-hu Mei-p'u* are here incorporated. In addition to this it contains biographies of a number of plum-blossom painters and a list of 317 paintings. The book is now very rare.

² Reprints of the text in *Wang-shih hua-yüan*, vol. 10 and in *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu*, II. A.5. Critical remarks about the composition of the text in *Shu-hua shu-lu chieh-t'i*.

"At the time there were six men who followed his school, and one among them was Yang Pu-chih. Famous officials and scholars composed thousands of poems in admiration of his works. During his whole life he did more than twelve hundred pictures; when he passed away, he left behind to Shan-ku only his cap, his girdle, his table and stool, and some unsurpassed pictures."

Remarks about the Secrets of the Blossoms

"The secret and characteristic features of plum-blossoms can be expressed only with a firm brush-stroke without the least change or hesitation. The flowing ink should be used both thick and thin but must not form waves. Start the brush and then let it go with ease. Some strokes should come forward, drooping and bending, others should rise as if looking up towards the autumn moon, some should be curved like a drawn bow, some bent like an elbow, others straight like an arrow.

"The old (branches) are like dragon's horns, the young ones like fishing-rods; make them with force as you break a nail. The twigs are straight as bow-strings. Avoid making the young twigs like willow branches; the older twigs resemble whips, the curving twigs are like deer's horns.

"Do not use too many strokes; the branches must not cross each other, the blossoms should be made out like large coins. They may be clustering in some places; yet without confusion; in other places, they should be arranged in order; yet without too much regularity. The old ones and the young ones must be according to their fashion; the new ones and the former ones divided by a year.

"The dry branches have no flowers; on the strong branches the flowers point towards the sky. The decaying blossoms are like old eyes. One thorn may form a connexion between two (blossoms). The decaying twigs have many thorns and the black ones likewise. The twigs which are like iron spears have no perfect blossoms. Some blossoms are doubled by growing together. The branches stretch to the rear

and to the front; the blossoms are divided like the holes in coins (which are cast in sheets).

"The stamens are like the whiskers of tigers; the blossoms weep dew or hold mist in their cups as if they were wailing and lamenting. They can stand the snow and the freezing cold. Some open big, some small; some stand upright, others lean more or less towards the side. They announce the very beginning of spring. Blushingly they turn away their shapes and smiling faces from the sun. They spread wide open, and then begin to fade – they are the very first harbingers of early spring.

"When the calyx turns away, it shows five points; when standing upright, it forms a circle. In the spring it smiles to the sun. The buds make strings of pearls; they are protected on all sides against the cold and the biting mist, well preserved until spring makes them open. Then come the butterflies and bees, and after them the spreading wind which shakes the stalks. Thus the life-cycle of the blossoms is completed. But from the time they open until they fade away, they express their love most brilliantly.

"The blossoms have usually seven stamens, one of which is longer than the rest, three are fully visible and four stand behind. There should not be too many circular blossoms (i.e. seen right from the front), but one should try to represent them in their endless variety and grasp their real essence. These rules must not be carelessly disregarded."

The following section, called the "*Meaning of their Shapes*", is devoted to a speculative discussion of the correspondences between various parts of the plum-tree and certain fundamental principles of Nature. The flowers are said to pertain to the Yang principle and to be symbols of Heaven, while the wooden parts of the tree pertain to the Yin principle and are symbols of the Earth. Consequently, different parts of the blossoms such as the petals, stamens, seed-cases, and pistils, follow odd numbers, whereas the roots and the branches and twigs spread in the four directions and divide into even numbers. To enumerate further symbolic correspondences

seems of little interest at this place, since they have no connexion whatsoever with the art of painting.

Yang Pu-chih's concluding remarks are less abstract and refer to the actual appearance of the blossoms, but they are of a rather simple kind and of little importance for the study of plum-blossom painting. He transmits what he has observed in nature; for instance: "If the tree is growing at a cliff, the branches are strange and the blossoms sparse, only half opened. If represented in wind and rain, the branches form a fence, the flowers are glorious, they seem wide open and luxurious. If enveloped by vapours and mist, the branches are tender, the blossoms abundant and smiling, covering the branches. If in wind and snow, the trunk should be old, the branches few and scattered, and the ink is to be stirred up as if flying . . . There are various kinds of plum-blossoms: 1. scattered and delicate, 2. luxuriant and strong, 3. old and pleasant. Some grow on the mountains, some in the valleys, some grow as a garden fence, some by the rivers and lakes."

Even if these notes are of slight interest from the painter's point of view they bear witness to Yang Pu-chih's keen observations on the plum-trees under various conditions. As a painter of plum-blossoms, bamboo, narcissi and stones, he attained a great reputation. He is mentioned by T'eng Ch'un in *Hua-chi* (c.1166) as being seventy years old, from which we may draw the conclusion that he was born at the end of the eleventh century and active mainly in the reign of the emperor Kao-tsung. He came from Nan-ch'ang in Kiangsi; his *tzü* was Wu-chiu, but he called himself Ch'ing-i Chang-chê, the Pure and Quiet old Fellow, or T'ao-ch'an lao-jên, the Retired old Ch'an Buddhist, names which characterize his natural inclinations and mode of life. His fame as a painter, however, reached far, and he was more than once summoned by the all-powerful, nefarious minister Ch'in Kuei to appear at court, but he never acceded to the call, a refusal which probably increased his fame with posterity (since Ch'in Kuei

was despised for his intrigues with the Tartars)¹ and also harmonizes with his concentration on painting plum-blossoms. These were written down spontaneously in a light, easy and unrestrained manner, the same kind of pure and clear brush-work as was characteristic of his calligraphy. In this he followed the old master Hua-kuang, whereas he did his human figures with light ink in the manner of Li Po-shih.²

Neither of the two pictures ascribed to Yang Pu-chih in the Ku-kung collection³ reveals a distinct artistic personality, though both may be said to convey, in different ways, a breath of poetry. One is a misty mountain landscape said to contain a *ch'in* player who, however, is invisible in the hazy reproduction, but the picture is provided with four poetic eulogies by amateurs of the Ming period. The other represents the top section of an old plum-tree rising sprightly and sending out some jerky twigs with a few scattered blossoms. The picture is not executed by a great master of the brush, but is a typical specimen of plum-blossom painting, provided with several seals and a short poem signed T'ao-ch'an lao-jên, i.e. another *hao* of Yang Pu-chih.

Better known as a painter through a few still existing works is the later specialist in plum-blossoms and narcissi called Chao Mêng-chien, whose *tzü* was Tzû-ku and *hao* I-chai (b. 1199, d. 1295). He was related to the imperial family and the early part of his life was divided between official duties and romantic enjoyments of a rather original kind, but towards the end of his life he sought his refuge in solitary meditation among flowers, following the example of Yang Pu-chih. Tzû-ku passed his *chin shih* degree in 1226, and was considered one of the most cultured men of his time, comparable to Mi Fei, and prominent in calligraphy and poetry as well as in painting. In 1260 he became a member of the Han-lin Academy and served then

¹ Cf. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, 392.

² Cf. *T'u-hui pao-chien*, vol. 4.

³ K.-k. *Shu-hua chi*, vols. XXIX and XXXIV.

as a governor of Yen-chou, but when the Sung dynasty finally succumbed to the Mongols (1279), his role in official life was ended. He retired to Hsiu-chou in Chekiang and lived there to the age of ninety-seven.

Chao Mêng-chien's greatest pleasure in life was to travel about in a house-boat in the company of some artist friends. The time was passed in discussing fine specimens of writing and painting, which they brought with them, or Tzu-ku chanted poems to his heart's desire, completely forgetful of both food and sleep. "Sometimes he took off his cap, filling it like a tumbler with wine, and sat down in a squatting position, singing the *Li-sao*,¹ quite unmindful of everybody around him. When night was approaching and the sun was setting behind a solitary mountain, the boat was rowed to the shore and moored among the luxuriant trees. Pointing to the darkest spot of the forest at the foot of the mountain, he exclaimed loudly: 'This is what Hung-ku-tzū (Ching Hao) and Tung Pei-yüan liked to paint'; and the people in the neighbouring boats were all startled by the truth of these remarks from the banished Sage. He specialized in painting with light ink in the *pai miao* style narcissi, plum-blossoms, orchids, *shan-fan* trees, bamboo and stones, and he also left to the world a *Mei p'u* (Treatise on Plum-blossoms)."²

The treatise, which is written in a rhythmic style, does not contain any fresh ideas of particular interest. It opens with references to the Ch'an master Hua-kuang, "who attained the clear beauty and harmonious proportions" of the flowers, and to his successor Chien-an "who attained to the light and easy manner of composition", and it winds up with some observations about different aspects under which the blossoming branches may be represented, as for instance, surrounded by swarms of bees, covered with melting snow, hovering above waves, or in the dim light of the rising moon; but the general hints for the use of ink and brush in painting plum-trees are less systematic and exhaustive than those in the treatise quoted above. Chao

Mêng-chien does not bring any references to Taoist philosophy, but his attitude towards the subject is characterized by the same poetic feeling as that of his predecessors, as may be realized from the following remark at the end of his treatise: "The flowers should make one feel the approach of spring or as if walking in heavy rain" (Pls. 362, 363).

Chao Mêng-chien is still considered by his countrymen as one of the greatest masters of the past, an appreciation which no doubt in this, as in so many other cases, is based on the tradition about his accomplishments as a scholar and as a calligraphist more than on his painted works. Most of the pictures by him which have been preserved represent wild narcissus, or what the Chinese call water-fairy flowers (*shui-hsien hua*), executed in a very neat and pure style with a fine brush and light ink on smooth paper. They reveal close study and intimate feeling for the character of the flowers and a wonderful purity of line, but they are more like drawings than paintings. As such they may be compared to folk-songs or lyrical poems in which the same symbols and metaphors return almost *ad infinitum*. The very long scrolls (measuring 5 to 6 m.), of which at least two used to be in the Manchu Household collection, thus become rather monotonous through their continuous repetition of the same motif. It is easier to appreciate the painter's mastery of the motif in the minor pictures, which represent a single flowering plant or tuft of narcissi. The effect of refinement and purity is here not weakened by repetition, and one may feel with An Lu-tsun "the pure breath of the flowers", and observe the brush-work, which seems to be "flying and dancing". Chao Mêng-chien's own poems on some of the pictures give the best idea of the inspiring thought in all its simplicity: "The summer month of Hsiang-hêng is steaming hot; the lonely

¹ The famous poem of Ch'ü Yüan, the banished minister of the Ch'u state, who, when he did not succeed in winning the ear of his sovereign, drowned himself in the Mi-lo river in 293 B.C. — a song evidently most fitting for the watery excursions of Tzu-ku.

² From *Hua-shih hui-yao*, quoted in *Shu-lua p'u*, vol. 52. His treatise is reproduced in vol. 15 of the same book.

flowers spread their perfume, refreshing men with their pure breath. I brought along some plants to Chekiang. One year has passed – and now two stalks are blooming.”¹

In this connexion a somewhat younger painter should also be mentioned who in his artistic activity and personal character was an ideal representative of the special kind of flower-painting – plum-blossoms, orchids and narcissus – here under discussion. He followed the same general trend as Chao Mêng-chien and also illustrated them by his mode of life and the names that he assumed. His original name was Chêng Mou, but when the Sung dynasty fell he changed this to Chêng Ssü-hsiao, which might be read “Chêng who Thinks of Chao” (Chao meaning the Sung dynasty),² and took the *tzü* I-wêng, “The Old One who does not Forget”, and the *hao* So-nan, “Whose Place is in the South”. He settled in a small village in Kiangsu and became known as a lonely and strange fellow who always sat with his face turned towards the South, i.e. in the direction in which the Sung had disappeared.³ His soul was filled with sorrow. He belonged to the old generation of proud scholars to whom the loss of national freedom was a stunning blow and who sought relief in art and poetry.

Chêng Ssü-hsiao painted nothing but tufts of *lan hua*, the simple and delicate spring orchids with a lingering fragrance, but these he represented in a way which served to accentuate their symbolic significance. He painted them pulled out of the soil. When someone asked him why he did so (not depicting the plants growing in the earth), he answered: “Don’t you know that the soil has been taken away by the barbarians?” And he guarded his paintings most carefully so that they would not fall into strange hands. We are told that a magistrate who had tried in vain to get hold of some of his pictures, had him arrested on the ground of some pretended offence, which simply drew the following exclamation from the painter: “You may have my head, but you shall not have my orchids”.⁴

The best-known example of Chêng Ssü-hsiao’s exquisite brush-work is the little picture representing two *lan hua* and accompanied by poetic inscriptions, which exists in two slightly different versions (in the Abe collection in the Ōsaka Museum and in the Freer Gallery), dated 1306.

There were several plum-blossom painters who continued the traditions from Hua-kuang and Yang Pu-chih after the close of the Sung period, but most of them must remain simply names to us as long as their works have not been identified. Two interesting specimens of this class, however, have also become known to western students, in late years, since their works have found a home in the Freer Gallery. The earlier but less important of these two pictures represents a horizontal section of an old plum-tree with far-spreading branches dotted with fresh blossoms. It is executed in monochrome on silk in a very refined, though somewhat dry manner, not unlike that of Chao Mêng-chien’s narcissus paintings. The picture is signed Yen-sou, a name recorded in *Shu-hua hui k’ao* (Vol.15) and *Shih-ch’ü pao-chi* (Vol.II), but without any biographical information. Three plum-blossom paintings by him are mentioned and he is placed at the very end of the South Sung period (directly after Chêng Ssü-hsiao), a dating which also seems to correspond to the stylistic character of the above-mentioned scroll.⁵ One of these pictures is said to have represented plum-blossoms “stretching out, looking up, dreaming, broken and falling”, and it had also a poem signed by the artist. Even though no further historical data regarding the artist are available, the picture may be remembered as a typical example of the kind

¹ *Mo-yün hui-luan*, section Nan-Sung, p.6.

² This name was formed by writing *hsiao* with the half of the *chao* character: 𠂔 as a substitute for 𠂔.

³ Cf. *Chung-huo jên-ming ta tz’ü-tien*, p.1562.

⁴ Cf. Giles, *Introduction*, second edition, p.146.

⁵ The name of the painter has also been given as Wang Yen-sou, which has led to the supposition that he might be identified with a certain Wang Yen-sou, *tzü* Yen-lin, who served as a censor in the emperor Chê-tsung’s reign (1086-1150), but this date does not correspond to the stylistic character of the picture.

of plum-blossom painting that was done from the shadows on half transparent windows (Pls. 366, 367).

The other picture of this kind in the Freer Gallery is more remarkable not only as a work of art but also as an historical document, because it conveys some information about a painter called Tsou Fu-lei, who otherwise is little known. Yet he must have been a true genius, nourished by Taoist mysticism, highly skilled as a painter and sensitive as a poet.

The picture bears the name *Ch'un hsiao hsi*, The Breath, or Inspiration of Spring, and represents an over six-foot long branch of a plum-tree sparkling with fresh, blossoming twigs and ending in a thin wiry sprig that shoots out like the trail of a sky-rocket over a third part of the whole scroll. In *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*, where the picture is recorded, it is said that the branch of the old plum-tree is "adorned with blossoms like pearls", and the projecting twig, which is done with a single stroke, is gleamingly fresh, vigorous and strong, a most wonderful, unsurpassed thing.

The interest of this scroll is considerably increased by the seals and inscriptions (on the picture itself and in the form of attached colophons), which have all been transcribed and translated by Mr. A. G. Wenley and incorporated with the Museum files in manuscript. Some quotations from these may here serve to throw more light on the personality of Tsou Fu-lei and his work.

The earliest of the colophons is dated 1350 and signed by a man called Ku Yen. It is strongly coloured by Taoist philosophy, particularly in the introductory statements referring to the "pure" and "impure" influence of Yin and Yang, which find expression in the natural inclinations of a man's character. The following is more biographical:¹

"Yün Tung Tsou Fu-lei lives in retirement at P'êng-pi. He likes to play the *ch'in* and to write, but finds his (greatest) joy in painting plum-blossoms. Thus after a long time (of practice) he has thoroughly acquired the skill of old Hua-kuang.

"Famous, indeed, are these strange forms, wind-tossed branches and snowy buds, all revealing a

marvellous skill. Moreover, his plum-blossoms are things of the utmost purity. They are immaculate and free from all earthly dust... They have the heart of (i.e. to brave) the cold season. As to Fu-lei, his character can truly be compared to the purity of plum-blossoms without making him bashful. That is why I write this account" (Pls. 364, 365).

Through another colophon, written by the poet Yang Wei-chêng,² we learn that Tsou Fu-lei lived together with his elder brother Tsou Fu-yüan in a hermitage in the mountains. When the poet visited them there in 1361 he composed a poem in which the brothers are compared to the most famous artists of bygone days: "The younger Fu paints plum-blossoms like Hua-kuang, the older Fu paints bamboo like Wên Tung".

The poem from which these lines are quoted is accompanied by some notes written in an extraordinarily large script with a flowing impetuous rhythm containing the following record of the occasion:

"My host was the Taoist (doctor) Fu-lei. After offering ceremonial tea he brought out Ch'ing-chiang mulberry paper, and thrice begged Tung (the elder brother) to bring ink and brushes. Both the master and the elder brother, Fu-yüan, could write poetry and paint; and after I had looked at Yüan's bamboos, I again looked at Lei's plum-blossoms. Among the scrolls was one with the title The Breath of Spring, written by Shan-chü Lao-hsien,³ and followed by a poem at the other end of the scroll."

This poem, which was written by the artist in 1360, contains so to speak the text to the silent music of the picture:

¹ The quotations are based on Mr. Wenley's excellent translations, from which I have deviated only in a few minor points. Reprints of these writings are also included in the description in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*.

² The poet Yang Wei-chêng, famous for playing his iron flute and for his "hanging gardens". Cf. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, 2415.

³ This is the appellation of Yang Yü, *trü Yüan-chêng* (1285-1361), a high official under the Yüan government known for his honesty and benevolence.

"Wherever my straw-roofed hut may be, I long
for the return of spring.
I call the autumn moon to match the old
plum-tree.
The threads of smoke are fading – the empty
room gets cold.
My trailing ink is tracing the shadows on the
window."

The words need no comment; they convey the atmosphere of plum-blossom painting and its inherent meaning just as well as the picture. It may seem like an artificial exhibition of brilliant brushmanship without any deeper sense, yet it conveys better than more elaborate or descriptive pictures the inspiration of spring, and is as such a perfect example of a type of painting which had developed during the South Sung period and which expressed some of the most essential qualities of Chinese ink-painting.

* * *

The greatest specialist of grape-vine was the monk Tzū-wên, better known under his *hao*, Jih-kuan. The records about him are very scanty;¹ we are simply informed that he came from Hua-t'ing in Kiangsu and lived in the Ma-nao monastery at Hangchou (presumably about the middle of the thirteenth century). He revelled in wine and led a life free from all conventional restraints, as did most of these monk painters, and "appeared usually in short garments even in the market places". His mastery in painting the winding stems of grape-vines was supplemented by his skill in writing grass-characters; in fact, the compositions of his paintings would be incomplete without the running calligraphy among or above the tendrils of the vine. And, as he painted the grapes and leaves in the same fluent manner as the grass characters, it was later on said with some reason that his grape-vines resembled tattered priestly garments. He became known as "Wên-p'u-t'ao" (Wên of the Grapes), which may refer to his fondness for their juice as well as to his speciality in painting.

Ever since the fifteenth century this painter has been the object of very high esteem, particularly in Japan, where his pictures are admired for their marvellous brush-work, in which pictorial beauty and rhythmic flow are combined into a singularly expressive manner of painting. They have exercised a noticeable influence on some Japanese painters and been skilfully imitated at various periods. The pictures which pass under the name of Jih-kuan in Japan are consequently quite numerous, and as they usually also are provided with seals and signatures of the artist, it is difficult to draw the line between his authentic works and the imitations. The problems referring to the authenticity of some of the individual pictures cannot be discussed at this place; we can only draw attention to one or two outstanding examples of his art (Pl. 368).

The best known among these are the two hanging scrolls in the Inouye and the Nezu collection besides the handscroll in Tenryūji, Kyōto. They all represent stems or branches of climbing vine with tattered leaves and clusters of grapes. But these elements are not outlined or combined in serried patterns, they are so to say dotted in with a soft brush that sometimes makes patches of deep ink and sometimes hardly touches the paper or the silk. The long bare branches are drawn or painted in a kind of *fei po* technique, i.e. with strokes that are not solid but broken by streaks of untouched ground, or almost disappearing into nothingness. It is as if a sudden wind had been sweeping over the paper, touching it here and there, leaving fluttering records which are still quivering with the pervading life-breath of the artist's brush. The stems are jerky and tenacious, full of climbing energy, the leaves ruffled and tattered, and the grapes shining in clusters. And the charm of it all is in the complete freedom from any visible effort, the ease and self-evidence of natural growth. The pictures are often completed by poetic inscriptions in a very free running style, perfectly harmonizing with the rhythm of the designs. They

¹ Cf. *Sung-yüan i-lai hua-jên hsing-shih lu* and *Chung-kuo jên-ming ta tz'u-tien*.

are also in this respect superior forerunners of the poetic improvisations in writing and painting combined which become so frequent in the Yüan and Ming periods.

* * *

The most decorative and pictorially effective flower-paintings of the period under discussion are no doubt certain large compositions of lotus and tree-peonies (*mu-tan*) executed in colour. Examples of this kind have been seen from time to time on the Chinese market, but they are as a rule not ascribed to definite masters and not accorded very prominent places in the old picture collections in China. Most of them were originally made as decorations for temples and palace halls, which also is proved by the fact that the best are still in the possession of certain Buddhist temples in Japan, where art-objects of this kind have enjoyed more protection than in China. I refer in particular to the three pairs of lotus-paintings belonging to the Chion-in and Hompoji in Kyoto, and to the National Museum in Tokyo (formerly in the Inouye collection), and also to the magnificent large pair of *mu-tan*-flowers belonging to the Koto-in of Daitokuji, Kyoto.

Most famous of all these are no doubt the two pictures in Chion-in representing Lotus-flowers with Ducks and Lotus-flowers with Herons, respectively. Their traditional attribution to the great flower-painter of the early tenth century, Hsü Hsi, is, as pointed out in an earlier chapter, rather misleading and may be the result of a somewhat dubious reading of a seal on one of the pictures. If the flower-paintings which in the Ku-kung collection are attributed to Hsü Hsi, or to his contemporaries, are accepted as materials for study and stylistic comparison, it must be admitted that the Chion-in pictures are far removed from the style and compositional manner of the Hsü Hsi epoch. The earlier examples may in a general way be characterized as objective or representational flower-paintings, excellent as faithful illustrations of beautiful flowers brought together in rich and manifold combina-

tions, as also may be observed in the so-called Chao Ch'ang picture, representing Flowers of New Year's Day (which was included in the London Exhibition of 1935-1936). Pictures of this type have sometimes the decorative quality of fine tapestries, but they have not the fugitive charm, nor the "life-breath" of flowers swaying to the wind, or the pictorial atmosphere which keeps us spell-bound in front of the lotus-paintings in Chion-in. These may be called subjective in so far as they represent momentary moods reflected in the mind of the painter.

The big flowers and leaves rising at the one side of the picture are lifted on slender stalks high above the dark water – now no longer to be distinguished from the background – but bend gracefully inward over the picture-field as if touched by a breath of wind. The design is unilateral, somewhat in the same fashion as in the landscapes of the Ma-Hsia school, but the one-sidedness is mitigated by the soft curves of the slender stalks and the folding leaves. The linear patterns are not as strongly accentuated as in the monochrome landscapes, yet they serve as a structural foundation to which the colours have been added so as to increase the relief and the decorative effect of flowers and leaves. The stalks and the nerves of the leaves are outlined in ink, but the petals of the rosy flowers are drawn with a reddish colour which blends with the tones of the calyxes. These range from almost white in the heart of the calyx to bright pink on the outer petals, a skilfully graded colouring which brings out the full and soft volume of the flowers. The method corresponds more or less to the traditional habit of Chinese bamboo and flower-painters who used to accentuate the nearest portions with strong and deep tones, while the receding portions were rendered in lighter and more transparent shades. The increase of the rosininess of the petals towards their tips gives them a rich and voluminous appearance, whereas the large and somewhat tattered leaves are held in the shape of bells or bowls by their strongly marked nerves.

The pictures have no doubt grown darker with age, which has practically effaced the distinguishing line

between the sky and the water and makes it difficult to appreciate the original space effect. But they still retain the kind of airiness which makes us feel the light wind to which the flowers are moving. Pictures like these must have been done by a highly accomplished painter who had reached a stage in the stylistic evolution corresponding to that of the great landscapist in Hangchou at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Who was this artist? The query has not as yet been answered in a definite way, though two Japanese experts have recently expressed the opinion that he should be identified with a recorded painter of lotus-flowers active at the beginning of the thirteenth century. They base their opinion on the reading of a small seal on one of the two pictures said to contain the characters *P'i-ling Yü-shih*,¹ which may indicate one of the painters of the Yü family from P'i-ling near Ch'ang-chou in Kiangsu. According to the P'i-ling chronicle, quoted in later biographical records of painters, there were at least three prominent members of this family who specialized in lotus-flowers (though they also painted other flowers and insects). The oldest and best known was Yü Ch'ing-yen (or, nien) who was active in the Chia-ting era (1208-1222). His skill as a lotus-painter became so widely known and appreciated that he was commonly called Ho Yü, Lotus Yü, and as he also did some pictures for the imperial palace he was rewarded by the emperor Ning-tsung. Other members of the family who achieved fame as painters of lotus were Yü Tzū-ming (possibly a son of the former) and Yü Wu-tao (or, yên), who is said to have been active at the beginning of the Yüan period. They were all known at the time as specialists of lotus-painting, but no signed or documented works by any of them are known.

The theory according to which the great lotus-paintings in Chion-in may have been painted by Yü Ch'ing-yen or Yü Tzū-ming, is thus as yet hardly more than a hypothesis, but it seems nevertheless to point in the right direction. The members

of the Yü family were apparently prominent representatives of a long-standing tradition of flower-painting, which may have been nourished by roots reaching as far back as to the epoch of the Five Dynasties, when the art of painting flowers from life (*hsieh shêng*) first became a fashion. But during the intervening centuries the tradition had passed through various stages of stylistic transformation, and when it reached the end of the Sung period it burgeoned into a freer, more lifelike and vibrant art than ever before (Pls. 369, 370).

The two lotus-paintings in Chion-in have often been described as the most perfect examples of their kind, but, as said above, there are two other pairs of somewhat similar pictures which may be classified as works of the same school, though partly later. This is true in particular of the very beautiful pair representing Lotus-flowers with Mandarin Ducks and Lotus-flowers with White Herons, formerly in the Inouye collection and now in the National Museum in Tokyo. Their traditional attribution to Ku Tê-ch'ien is said to be based on some seals, and it is interesting in so far as it accords them the same age as accorded to the so-called Hsü Hsi paintings. The relation between them and the pictures in Chion-in will be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble of comparing the reproductions; it may be observed in the general characteristics of the designs as well as in the technical execution of the flowers and leaves, though the compositions are more elaborate and filled with a greater quantity of rosy flowers, stained or tattered leaves and duck-weed and reeds. The

¹ Cf. the note by S. Shimada to Pl. 66 in *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshû* (Tokyo, 1951). A somewhat condensed English version of the same information in the booklet called *Painting of Sung and Yuan Dynasties* by S. Shimada and Y. Yonezawa, published by Mayuyama Co., Tokyo, 1952. The name of the place at Ch'ang-chou from where the Yü-family originated was called P'i-ling. The painters are recorded in *T'u-hui pao-chien*, vol. 4, *Hsü-shih hui-ch'uan*, and in Sun To-kung's *Chung-kuo hua-chia jen-ming ta te'ü-tien*. The valuable article in *Artibus Asiae*, XV, 3, "The Problem of Hsü Hsi" by Benjamin Rowland jun., became known to me only after my text was concluded, and I was glad to find my general views confirmed by the author, even though the theory of the Japanese experts is discarded by him.

relation between the large plants and the open space is thus not quite the same as in the former pair of lotus-paintings. The abundance of details counteracts to some extent the impression of movement; we miss the zephyr-laden fugitive charm of the compositions described above. Yet the correspondence is close enough to make us suppose that the two pairs were produced within the same artistic circle.

The pair in Hompoji (sometimes deposited in the Kyōto museum) is stylistically related to the two pairs mentioned above, though not quite of the same quality and furthermore less well preserved. The pictures represent bunches of lotus-flowers and leaves rising on tall stems straight up from dark water. There is no indication of movement in these plants; they stand crowded together in narrow spaces and have a rather stiff appearance. They are no longer masterpieces of the kind described above, but represent a stage in the evolution when the graceful charm had evaporated and the life-breath had cooled off into skilful workmanship (Pl.371).

These two pictures have often been ascribed to Ch'ien Hsüan, the name which in Japan is most commonly attached to flower-paintings which retain certain elements of Sung tradition in somewhat conventionalized form. We shall have occasion to return to this master in a later chapter devoted to some of the leading painters at the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, and it will then also become clear that he could not have been responsible for the above-mentioned lotus-paintings, nor for the very large pictures of mutan-flowers in Koto-in of the Daitokuji compound (Pl.372).

To describe these gorgeous examples of flower-

painting in a few words seems futile; nor do any reproductions render their pictorial beauty, because it depends to such a large extent on the wealth of colour and the exuberance of these flowering plants, which reach a height of more than two metres. Their brilliant decorative qualities may, at first sight, convey the impression of two astounding performances in the academic style without much intrinsic significance, but a closer study will reveal great sensitiveness and intimacy in the presentation of the motif.

This became evident to me on a late spring day some years ago, when the pictures were exhibited in one of the temple rooms opening on the garden where a row of mutan-shrubs were at the height of their bloom, unrolling a series of colourful living pictures of irresistible charm. Looking from these to the paintings in which the same flowers were represented in full size, I realized the enchantment that the painter must have felt when contemplating the flowering mutans, his patient penetration of the intricate patterns of the flowers and leaves, his effort to paint the life (*hsieh shêng*) and to grasp the character of these noble plants. To him perhaps they seemed in their dazzling attire just as important as princes or courtiers in ceremonial dress. His approach to the motif was certainly not that of an outsider, or a superior stranger, but of an intimate friend and interpreter, who felt the pulse of the sap in these growing plants and the radiant joy of the full-blown colourful flowers. The pictures seemed so close to life that they bared my soul to a flash of unfading beauty, and I felt grateful to one of the many unknown masters of Chinese flower-painting.

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ANNOTATED LISTS
OF PAINTINGS AND REPRODUCTIONS
OF PAINTINGS
BY CHINESE ARTISTS

THESE ANNOTATED LISTS
HAVE BEEN PRINTED WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM
KUNGAFONDEN AND HUMANISTISKA FONDEN
IN STOCKHOLM

Introduction to the Lists

THE WESTERN art-historian who tries to attain a reasoned, orderly view of the very large material of Chinese painting still existing finds himself inevitably confronted with problems of a more intricate kind than those which are most familiar to him from the history of post-medieval European painting. They are inherent in the material and accentuated by the traditional attitude and methods of the art-historians and painters of the Far East. For them the safest way to mastery of the art of painting was always to transmit the style of their favourite predecessors as faithfully as possible, to assimilate their spirit and to learn their manner of expression, so to speak, by heart. The old masters, and particularly the most famous among them, thus served as models not only to their contemporaries but also to hosts of later painters who sometimes indicated the names of their models above their signatures, but at other times left their renderings without any written testimony or simply with their own seals on them. Such methods may not commend themselves to Western ideas of artistic creation and honesty, but they have contributed to keep alive certain currents of style, patterns and ideas accepted as essentials not only by the men of the brush but also by critics and historians.

It must, however, be remembered that this transmission of the old masters' art was by no means based on simple copying or reproduction of the early pictures; it took the form of interpretations rather than of direct copies and the results became thus quite unequal, depending on the temperament and skill of the executing painters. These conditions may contribute to the artistic interest of the imitations, but it is also apt to reduce their value as

substitutes for the originals and complicates the efforts to reconstruct lost *œuvres*. In other words, we are faced with the stylistic and technical intricacies of a secondary material in our attempts to reach some understanding of the early masters (from T'ang to Sung), whose original works are no longer preserved. Their artistic activity may be described in literary sources, which buttress up their fame, but the pictorial examples honoured with their names are mostly of an inferior or doubtful kind.

In working out the Annotated Lists of Paintings and Reproductions of Paintings by Chinese Painters for the early periods, the compiler has thus been faced with the necessity of selecting and classifying paintings traditionally ascribed to certain masters. Some of them could be left out without much hesitation – when their connexions with the master seemed too vague or distant – others had to be introduced because of their historical or stylistic relations with the presumptive artists.

The pictures of the earliest periods – T'ang and pre-T'ang – are with very few exceptions generally recognized as copies, or imitations of various dates and merits; their characteristics could in most cases easily be indicated by short remarks or notes after the descriptions. But when the relative proportion between obvious copies and presumptive originals changes somewhat – as in the Sung period – the task of disentangling them becomes more intricate and tends to entail lengthy commentaries. In order to avoid these, the commentaries have been replaced by a series of letters intended to serve as pointers or hints regarding the relative authenticity of the respective pictures. But it must be understood that these are not intended as aesthetic estimates or final

opinions about the importance or authenticity of the pictures. They are merely pointers which, at the time of study, seemed most useful for sorting out the material and classifying it according to individual and periodic characteristics. These classifying letters may be shortly explained as follows:

- A. A genuine work by the master.
- A.? In the manner of the master but not quite convincing as his work.
- B. Possibly of the period.
- B.? A later copy or free imitation.
- C. A doubtful picture with an arbitrary attribution.
- C.? An insufficient reproduction.

Such graphic indicators are very useful addenda to the Annotated Lists in the case of painters whose names have frequently been used on imitations, but their usefulness varies with the nature of the material under consideration. In listing the works of less famous painters of later dates, they have mostly been dropped, or they have been replaced by short remarks. And everywhere where they are used they should be interpreted and applied with circumspection rather than with rigid formality. They are here introduced as preliminary for a general survey of Chinese painting, not as a hard and fast classification.

The Lists comprise such paintings as have been seen by the compilers either in original or in reproduction. Many of them are not easily accessible for Western students, but, whenever possible, reference has been made to reproductions in books which may be found in European and American museum libraries. These may serve as useful – though not always reliable – substitutes for works of art which are out of reach, and as helps to the memory, but it must not be forgotten that one authentic painting by a prominent master is far more important for a proper understanding of his art than 999 reproductions, which after all, are mechanical shadows of the living touches of the master's brush.

* * *

The work on these Lists was started more than twenty years ago, at a time when Yang Chou-han, now professor of English literature at the Peking University, was active as my assistant in Sweden. The general plan of the work was then laid out, all obtainable Chinese and Japanese publications of reproductions were acquired from Far Eastern book-sellers, or indexed in libraries in Berlin and Paris, and the first comprehensive lists of certain masters were drawn up. The most notable results of this initial period of activity were the Lists of the Ming and Ch'ing painter's works which formed parts of my *History of Later Chinese Painting* (1938). In the preface to this publication, my indebtedness to Yang Chou-han for his intelligent co-operation is fully recorded.

During the years immediately following the outbreak of the world war the work on the Lists slowed down gradually owing to the lack of a capable Chinese assistant and the difficulty in keeping up the necessary supply of books and the correspondence with distant countries. The material ran dry and there was no more inducement to go on with the work. It was not till 1947, when, in connexion with the Princeton Bicentennial, the compiler had an opportunity of visiting the U.S.A. and familiarizing himself with the increased number of Chinese paintings in American collections, that the work on the Lists received new impetus. New material was then taken up, the work was resumed, and a year or two later the old project took on more definite form in discussions with an American publisher regarding a new general history of Chinese painting, in which the Lists should also find a place. The project which thus came to life after a long period of gestation, became more and more a dominating idea, a driving force in the compiler's studies and travels. During the latter he visited the U.S.A. repeatedly (between 1949 and 1956), Japan (1951, 1954, 1956), Peking (1954) and Formosa (1956), gathering at these and other places an ever growing harvest of new notes and reproductions for the Lists. Through this continuous accumulation of

material and the systematizing work involved, the relative importance of the Lists has grown rapidly to such a degree, indeed, that they have become not merely a supplement to the History but its very backbone.

It was a work which absorbed much more of the author's time and attention than was expected from the beginning; and it necessitated frequent rearrangements and recopying of various sections of the growing catalogues. It would really have required the continuous co-operation of a trained assistant, but owing to the lack of such help and to other circumstances, it advanced slowly and with long intermissions. It was only during the years 1950-1955 that I had the advantage of Mr. Huang Tsu-yü's assistance in the recasting and recopying of the growing Lists, which were written over several times. The skill and accuracy he devoted to this arduous work are here recorded with sincere gratitude.

An important new stage in the establishment of the Lists was initiated at the end of 1955, when Mr. James Cahill came to Sweden on his way back from Japan and remained here for three months, during which time he revised certain portions of the Lists and incorporated in them a large amount of new material, mainly from Japanese publications and private collections. With the aid of his experience and efficient work, devoted not only to the Lists but also to the Bibliography, the index and the proofs, the publication, which in the meantime had been entrusted to the printers, was guided through the stage of the first galley proofs.

The importance of the work rendered by the above-named assistants could hardly be exaggerated, but besides these should be remembered other helpers whom I have met more casually in different parts of the world but who nevertheless have contributed some new materials or suggestions of importance for the Lists. Most of them have already been mentioned in the general Preface with sincere recognition of their contributions to my endeavours, but some of the names mentioned there may here be

repeated and others added with particular emphasis on their co-operative attitude towards the creation of the Lists. Those who in this connexion come to my mind in particular are Mr. Chang Ts'ung-yü and Professor Wang Hsün in Peking; Mr. Chuang Yen and the authorities of the Museum board in Formosa mentioned in my Preface; Dr. Shimada and Mr. Kawai in Kyōto, Mr. T. Akiyama and Mr. Mayuyama in Tokyo, and among the art-experts in New York particularly Mr. C. C. Wang who in 1954 collated with me the lists of the Sung and Yüan periods; and Mr. H. C. Wêng who time and again extended to me hospitality and opportunities for study in his beautiful home in Scarsdale, and Joseph M. Seo, who with the years has become almost a New Yorker, yet never losing his fine sense for Chinese calligraphy, and furthermore Frank Caro, who now has made C. T. Loo's large reserves of Chinese paintings accessible to students, and Walter Hochstadter, who accorded me the rare opportunity of seeing a few of his treasures brought from China in recent years. They are all here recorded with gratefulness for their occasional contributions to the Lists and willingness to enlarge my experiences in the field of Chinese painting.

The Bibliography here inserted contains only such publications as have been used - completely or in part - for the composition of the Lists, and it has no more claims to completeness than the catalogues of the painters' works. Its principles of arrangement will no doubt appear evident to serious students without further explanation, but alas! they may find cause to regret that some of the editions that I have used do not correspond exactly in paging or other details to the editions (of the same books) which are known to them. The arbitrariness of Chinese reprints is sometimes disconcerting.

The order of the pictures on the Lists is as far as possible chronological. Whenever there are dated pictures by a certain master, they are placed in a special group at the head of the Lists; after them follows a section consisting of undated pictures in Chinese collections (and mostly reproduced in

Chinese books); the third section is made up of pictures reproduced in Japanese publications and examples seen in Japanese collections, whereas the fourth section contains pictures in public and private collections in America and Europe. But occasional deviations from this order have been caused by the mixed character of certain publications.

Beside the pictures known to the compiler in original or reproduction, some short extracts from the Chinese catalogues of the former National Museum in Peking - i.e. Wên-hua tien and the adjoining storage - and from the former P'ang Yüan-chi collection in Shanghai, have been added to the

Lists of the T'ang, Sung and Yüan masters' works. These addenda fall, strictly speaking, outside the frame and scope of the present publication, but some of them offer information of historical interest. They have, therefore, been incorporated in the Lists of the early periods, but not in those of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, which even without such additions threaten to burst the frame of the present publication. This is also the main reason why the additional Lists of *Anonymous paintings* have been left in a highly incomplete state. Their practical importance is strictly limited, though they include pictures of considerable interest.

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Chinese Landscape Painting, by Sherman Lee. Exhibition in the Cleveland Museum of Art, November-December 1954.

The Annotated Lists

I

Painters of the T'ang Period and Earlier

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----|--------------------------|------|
| CHAN Tzŭ-CH'EN | 展子虔 | LI SSŭ-HSŪN | 李思訓 |
| CHANG HSŪAN | 張萱 | LIU SHANG | 劉商 |
| CHANG SENG-YU | 張僧繇 | LU HUNG | 盧鴻 |
| CHAO KUNG-YU | 趙公祐 | LU Lêng-CHIA | 盧稜伽 |
| CH'EN HUNG | 陳閔 | PIEN LUAN | 邊鸞 |
| CHENG CH'EN | 鄭虔 | TAI I | 戴嵩 |
| CHOU FANG | 周昉 | TAI SUNG | 戴嵩 |
| FAN CH'UNG | 范瓊 | WANG WEI | 王維 |
| HAN HUANG | 韓混 | WEI-CH'IH I-SÊNG | 尉遲乙僧 |
| HAN KAN | 韓幹 | WU TAO-TZŪ | 吳道子 |
| KU K'AI-CHIH | 顧愷之 | YANG SHENG | 楊昇 |
| LI CHAO-TAO | 李昭道 | YEN LI-PÊN | 閻立本 |
| LI CHÊN | 李真 | | |

CHAN Tzŭ-CH'EN 展子虔.

From Po Hai (Ts'ang-chou) in Hopeh. Active in the Sui dynasty (581-609). Painted Buddhist figures as well as realistic scenes with men and horses, beside landscapes. Sometimes characterized as "originator of T'ang painting". A, 8. G, 1. H, 2. M, p.300.

Hui-hua kuan. A River-view in Spring. Scattered over the hilly shores are blossoming trees; men in white gowns are travelling on foot and horseback along the paths and in a boat across the river. A short handscroll in blue and white; now much repaired. Artist's name and title of picture written by the emperor Hui Tsung; also an inscription by Ch'ien-lung. Possibly a T'ang painting. Cf. *I-shü ch'üan-t'ung*, vol.IV.

Ku-kung collect. Study of Classics. Two men seated on the ground reading; a third one is advancing with a scroll, followed by a small boy. Light colours on a dark background; slight traces of a landscape. The first leaf of a large album containing fourteen paintings attributed to masters of T'ang and Sung periods. No signature but seals of Liang Ch'ing-piao. Possibly a pre-Sung picture.

CHANG HSŪAN 張萱.

A native of Ch'ang-an. One of the most famous of the fashionable painters in the K'ai-yüan era (714-742), praised in particular for his pictures of elegant ladies and noble youths in palace gardens or travelling on horseback. As a painter of such subjects, he was equal to Chou Fang. A, 9. B, G, 5. H, 2. I, 46. L, 24. M, p.455.

Chung-kuo, I, 7 (Ti P'ing-tzū). Lady Kuo-kuo's Spring Garden Party. A number of young women are playing music or amusing themselves among the blossoming trees or in the galleries around a mountain garden. Lady Kuo-kuo was the second sister of Yang Kuei-fei and likewise famous for her beauty and romantic adventures which inspired Chang Hsüan to some of his pictures. The present one may be a free imitation after a picture with the same title in the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*. C?

Chūgoku, I. Two Ladies Sitting on a Couch Writing; a Maid standing and grinding the Ink. Album leaf. Seals of Ch'ien-lung and Chia-ch'ing. B?

C. T. Loo Successors, New York. An Empress of T'ang and her Retinue Returning from a Journey. The wind

is moving their garments and bending the trees. The composition is a portion of a larger ensemble consisting of five pictures representing the Travels of a T'ang Empress, as mentioned in the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*. The execution is not of the T'ang period but the picture may be a faithful copy. Colours on silk. Cf. Kwen Cat., 3; Ōmura, II, 5 (Chiang Mêng-p'in collect.); Chūgoku I; Chang Ts'ung-yü Cat. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl. 46, 52-22. Ladies Preparing Silk. According to the inscription, a picture by Chang Hsüan copied by the emperor Hui-tsung. Also inscription by the emperor Chang-tsung of Chin (d. 1209). Handscroll. Colours on silk. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 41.

CHANG SENG-YU 張僧繇.

From Wu (Kiangsu). Act. 500-550. Most famous as a landscape-painter, particularly of snow scenes. Used the *mo-ku* manner. Painted also Buddhist and Taoist figures. A, 7. G, 1. H, 2. I, 45. L, 24. M, p. 454.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIV. Autumn Landscape. Colourful Trees along a Mountain Stream. Possibly a Sung painting after a design by Chang Seng-yu. Cf. Chinese Cat. London Exhibition, p. 110. There are several landscapes of the Yüan and Ming periods by painters such as Lan Ying, which according to inscriptions are copied after Chang Seng-yu.

Ku-kung collect. Mountain Landscape in Snow. Decorative colouring. Inscribed with the painter's name. Possibly of the Ming period.

Sōraikan II, 1-17 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). The Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations. The present picture contains only twelve Constellations; the other sixteen were probably represented in an accompanying scroll. The picture, which is executed with colours on silk, may be a close copy made in

the Sung period. The inscriptions in seal characters reproduce, according to the adjoining note, texts by Liang Ling-tsan of the 8th century, but they may date from the time of the execution of the picture. Colophons signed Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'ên Chi-ju. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No. 89; article by Yashirō with reproductions of an old Japanese copy of both scrolls.

Freer Gallery (16.520). The Brushing of the Elephant. The composition is probably based on a design by Chang Seng-yu. The picture retains an early character in spite of its relatively late execution and poor preservation. Other versions of the same composition are preserved in Chinese and Japanese private collections. Cf. Chung-kuo, I, 56; Tōsō, p. 137, etc. B?

CHAO KUNG-YU 趙公祐.

From Ch'ang-an, lived in Ch'êngtu where he decorated several temples with wall-paintings. Active c. 825-850. Buddhist and Taoist figures. Moved later to Chekiang. C, 1. F, 2. H, 2. I, 47. L, 46. M, p. 605.

British Museum (Ars Asiatica IX, p. 15). Demons Attacking the Bowl, in which Buddha had imprisoned Mara's son Pingala. Portion of a handscroll

in very bad repair. Possibly reproducing a composition by the master, but executed only at the end of the Sung or in the Yüan period.

CH'ÊN HUNG 陳閔.

A native of K'uai-chi in Chekiang. He was introduced at court in the K'ai-yüan period (714-742). Painted portraits of the emperors Hsüan-tsung and Su-tsung (756-763) and illustrations of imperial hunting parties and the like. A, 9. B, G, 5. H, 2. I, 47. M, p.425.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Meritorious Military and Civil Officials, originally eight figures of which only six are preserved. They are represented as isolated figures in their official costumes. Handscroll painted

with colours on silk. The colophons attached to the scroll are by Wên Chia (1579), Chung Fêng-i (1576) and Yüan Yüan (beginning of the 19th century).

CHENG CH'EN 鄭虔, t. Jo-ch'i 弱齊.

Native of Cheng-chou, Honan. Active in the middle of the 8th century, attached to the Kuang-wên kuan. Famous as a calligraphist, landscape-painter and musician. A friend of Tu Fu and Li Po and much appreciated by the emperor Hsüan-tsung. A, 9. B, H, 2. I, 47. M, p.640.

P'ang Yüan-chi Illust. Cat., 1940, vol.I. The Long Cataract. The water falls from an overhanging rock;

two men admiring it below. A later picture. C.

CHOU FANG 周昉, t. Chung-lang 仲朗 and Ching-yüan 景元.

A native of Ch'ang-an and a highly accomplished artist who found his clientèle in high society. Active c.780-810. Executed wall-paintings in some of the Buddhist temples in the capital, but became most famous for his portraits and pictures of the court ladies, for which he created a standard type. A, 10. B, F, 5. G, 6. H, 2. I, 47. L, 36. M, p.242.

Hui-hua kuan. Ladies occupied with Embroidery or Resting from their work and adjusting their garments and coiffures. A large handscroll traditionally attributed to the master. The picture is badly worn in spots but may be of the period. Cf. *I-shu ch'üan-t'ung*, vol.V. A relatively recent complete copy of this composition, likewise ascribed to Chou Fang, forms part of the Moore collect., of Yale University. Cf. The A. S. Moore Cat., PLXXI and London Chinese Exhibition Cat. 974.

Palace Museum, Collotype. A Barbarian Envoy Bringing a White Antelope in Tribute. Title and artist's name written by emperor Hui-tsung. Seals of the emperors Chang-tsung of Chin and Ch'ien-lung. Large album leaf. B?

Ku-kung collect. Two Ladies seated on the Ground in the Act of writing a Poem. Large album leaf. Probably a Sung painting after an earlier original. Seals of Liang Ch'ing-piao.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIV. Five Scholars Enjoying Music under a Pine-tree. Probably a Ming painting. B?

Chang Ta-ch'ien collect., Hongkong (formerly). Six

Ladies playing various instruments; two servants and a man with a bow. Short handscroll. In the manner of the master. B?

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Listening to Music. Two Ladies are listening while a third is playing the *Ch'in* in a garden. A servant at each end. A short handscroll; possibly pre-Sung. Later versions of this composition in the Ueno (formerly Lo Chên-yü) collect., the Freer Gallery and other collections. Cf. *Erh-shih chia* and Tōsō, p.12.

Freer Gallery (16,50). Banana Plant, Rocks and Three Women. Possibly a design by the master, but the picture is much destroyed and mended, only fragments of the original remain.

Ibid. (16,75). A Woman Seated on the Floor; in front of her an Embroidery Frame. A somewhat repaired Sung painting.

Ibid. (16,524). Heavenly Maidens Scattering Flowers over an Assembly of Buddhist Saints and Worshipers, such as Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī, and also the White Elephant with Sacred Objects. The picture, which may have been executed in the Yüan period, has no stylistic connexion with Chou Fang.

Ku-kung collect. Two Ladies playing Double-sixes. The main part of the picture is identical with the painting in the Freer Gallery, but the composition includes furthermore a young man who carries a plate. Inscription by Ch'ien Hsüan who possibly may have executed this copy after Chou Fang. Two more inscriptions by Liu Hsiao-chi and Lu Shih-tao. Cf. Freer Gallery (39.37).

Metropolitan Museum. Five Women Seated on the Ground Washing and Playing with some Babies.

Possibly a section of a longer scroll depicting the care of children. In the manner of the master but not executed before the late Sung or Yüan period.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. A Country Woman Playing the P'i-p'a; an Old Woman with a Staff Standing by. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. Lao-tzū Playing the *Ch'in*. Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. Women with Children. Fan painting. Attributed.

FAN CH'UNG 范瓊

Active in the middle of the 9th century in Ch'eng-tu, Szechuan. He was a prominent painter of religious images and executed a large number of wall-paintings after the restoration of Buddhism in 850. He is mentioned together with the painters Ch'ên Hao 陳皓 and P'êng Chien 彭堅, whom he surpassed by the strength of his brush-strokes which were said to be like iron wires. C, 1. F, 2. G, 2. H, 2. M, p.278.

Ku-kung collect. A Thousand-armed Kuan-yin seated on the Lotus Throne. Executed with colours on silk in the refined kung-pi manner. According to the inscription

by the painter(?) executed in the first month of the year 850 in the Shêng-hsing ssü temple at Ch'eng-tu. Colophon by Chang Ch'ou (of Ming). A?

HAN HUANG 韓滉, 1. T'ai-ch'ung 太冲.

From Ch'ang-an. B. 723, d. 787. Governor of Chekiang, prime-minister in the reign of the emperor Tê-tsung. Figures and buffaloes. A, 10. B. G, 6. H, 2. I, 47. L, 17. M, p.696.

Hui-hua kuan. Four Scholars in a Garden (*Wên-yüan t'u*). The title and the painter's name were written by the emperor Hui-tsung in 1107. Also seals of the emperor, who apparently considered the picture to be a work by the master. The composition has been incorporated in the so-called *Liu-li t'ang* picture by Chou Wên-chü. Cf. Chung Kuo, I, 23-24. A?

British Museum (Eumorfopoulos collect.) Two Bulls. A late imitation. Cf. London Chinese Exhibition Cat. 1056. C.

Private collect., Hongkong. The *Wu-niu t'u*. Five Water Buffaloes in varied postures. A short handscroll executed with colours on coarse paper. Generally attributed to Han Huang, but mentioned by Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, p.77, as a work by Tai Sung in the possession of "the nephew of Mr. Wu Yü-lin, the former comprador of Shanghai and Hongkong Bank".

HAN KAN 韓幹.

From Ch'ang-an. Famous painter of horses. Summoned by the emperor Hsüan-tsung to paint the imperial horses. Active in the T'ien-pao era (742-756). A, 9. B. F, 5. G, 13. H, 2. I, 47. M, p.695.

K.-k. XIV. An Old Man Leading a Horse to the Water. An album leaf. Seals of the Chêng-ho and Hsüan-ho epochs and inscription by Ch'ien-lung. C.

Palace Museum, Collotype. A Groom on Horseback, leading another saddled horse. Ink and colour on silk. Inscription by the emperor Hui-tsung, dated 1107. Seals of Hui-tsung and later emperors. A? A free copy of this picture in Laufer, Cat. 3.

Sir Percival David collect., London. A Horse Tied to a Pole, called The Shining Light of Night. Ink on paper. Large album leaf. Inscriptions by the emperor Li Hou-chu (937-978), by Hsiang Tzū-yen (1138), and later men. Seals of Sung and later times. A?

Freer Gallery (15.16). Envoys from "the Western Countries" with Three fully Caparisoned Tribute Horses. Richly coloured handscroll. Inscription in the

- manner of the emperor Hui-tsung, dated 1114. Colophon by Mo Shih-lung. Possibly copy after one of Han Kan's five scrolls representing Foreigners with Tribute Horses. The same composition is repeated with minor changes in a later picture in the same museum and partly in a painting in private collect.
- S. C. T. K. Hsü-pien, II. A White Elephant, a Camel, a Black Stag, a White Horse, and a Small Dark Bull in a Group, besides a Pig and Poultry. Hui-tsung's writing and Ch'ien-lung's inscription. A strange early design in late execution. C.
- KU K'AI-CHIH 顧愷之, i. Ch'ang-k'ang 長康, h. Hu-t'ou 虎頭. From Wu-hsi, Kiangsu. B. c.344, d. c.406. Famous for his portraits and figures, but painted also landscapes. A, 5. G, 1. H, 2. I, 45. L, 52. M, p.734.
- Hui-hua kuan, The Nymph of the Lo River. A series of illustrations to a *fu* poem by Ts'ao Chih of the 3rd century forming a long handscroll. The pictures seem to be close copies of archaic originals transformed to some extent in the more graceful style of the Sung period. Executed with colours on silk. The number of scenes could not be ascertained since only a minor portion of the scroll was exhibited at the time of my visit (1954).
- Freer Gallery. A portion of a scroll corresponding in part to the picture mentioned above, i.e. also copied after Ku K'ai-chih's painting, The Nymph of the Lo River, probably in the Sung period, though executed in a somewhat stiffer manner than the above mentioned more complete scroll in Hui-hua kuan. It was formerly in the Tuan Fang collect, and is accompanied by a colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Fragments of another version of the Lo Shên scroll are reproduced in Chûgoku I; and a later, much freer version is in the British Museum.
- LI CHAO-TAO 李昭道.
- Son of Li Ssü-hsün. Called the Little General Li. Act. c.670-730. Landscapes in gold, blue and green. A, 9. B (under Li Ssü-hsün). G, 10. H, 2. I, 46. L, 42. M, p.184.
- K.-k. XVII. The Ch'ü River. Fantastic wooded mountains; extensive palaces along the winding waters. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. B?
- Ibid. XXVI. Travellers in the Mountains in Spring. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.18. B? A free late version of this picture is in the University Museum, Philadelphia.
- Metropolitan Museum (47,18). A Tartar Groom Leading a Horse. Title written in the manner of Hui-tsung, long inscription by Ch'ien-lung. Short handscroll. B?
- P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. Tribute Horses. Eight men bringing three horses. Attributed. Inscriptions by Hui-tsung (dated 1114) and Wang Chih-t'eng (dated 1574). Poems by three Yüan writers. Handscroll. Cf. Picture in Freer Gallery mentioned above.
- Ibid. 11. Washing the Horse. Album leaf. Inscribed with the painter's name.
- British Museum. Admonitions of the Instructress to the Ladies of the Palace. A handscroll, now containing nine illustrations to a text by Chang Hua (232-300), portions of which are copied between the successive scenes. Two long colophons at the end of the scroll; one considered to be by the emperor Hui-tsung of Sung, the other by the emperor Ch'ien-lung, with quotations from Ku K'ai-chih's biography, etc. Numerous seals; the earliest reads "Hung-wên", i.e. the name of a department in the Han-lin College, used in the 8th century. Probably a somewhat restored early T'ang picture based on an original by Ku K'ai-chih.
- Hui-hua kuan. Lieh-nü t'u. Four Groups of Famous Women represented together with their parents. The title refers to a lost picture by Ku K'ai-chih which may have served as model for the present picture. It is painted with ink and colours on silk and is now darkened, but may be a work from the end of the Sung period.
- K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXXII. The Lo-yang Tower. Album-leaf. Colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.17. A?
- Laufer Cat. 2. River Landscape with Cottages and Mountains in Snow. A late and darkened picture on silk. C.

Yurintaikan, II. Mountains in Spring. Handscroll. Gold and green-coloured. Colophon signed *Hsi-ya* (Li Tung-yang of the Ming period). B?

Ise: *Shina Sanzui-ga Shi*. River and Mountains. Gold and blue colours. Handscroll. B?

LI CHÊN 李真 or Li Shên 李紳.

Act. c.780-804. Is said to have followed Kōbō Daishi from China to Japan and to have painted in some of the temples in Kyōto. Not recorded in the books on painters.

Kokka 198, 344, 345 (Tōji, Kyōto). Portraits of Five Patriarchs of the Shingon sect of Buddhism: Pu-k'ung chin-kang 不空金剛, Hui-kuo 惠果, Shan-wu-wei 善無畏, Chin-kang-chih 金剛智 and I-hsing

Boston Museum Portfolio, p.143. The Chiu-ch'êng Palace. Fragment of a late imitation. C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. A Dragon-boat Race. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. A Distant View of a Han Palace. Fan painting. Attributed.

一行. The pictures were brought to Japan by Kōbō Daishi in 804. Only the first named portrait is completely preserved; the others are much worn, so that only minor portions of the figures remain.

LI SSŪ-HSŪN 李思訓, t. Chien-chien 建見.

Member of the imperial T'ang family. B. 651, d. 716. Became a general. Landscapes. Considered as the founder of the "Northern School." A, 9. B. G, 10. H, 2. I, 46. L, 42. M, p.184.

Ku-kung collect. *Chiang-fan lou-ko t'u*; Boats on the River, leafy trees along the shore, large red buildings and figures on the opposite side. No signature, but seals of the Sung period (Chi Hsi Tien Pao) and of An I-chou. Probably a Sung copy after an earlier painting. Freer Gallery (11,170). Palaces and Gardens on Fang-hu, one of the Three Islands of the Immortals. Fantastic buildings, brightly coloured trees, blue mountains and

white clouds. Handscroll. A late imitation illustrating the traditional style of the master. B?

Yurintaikan, II. River Landscape. Steep mountains, plummy trees and fishing-boats on the water. Handscroll. Colours on silk. At the head of the picture an annotation by the collector P'ei Ching-fu. A strange picture, not in the master's style, probably of the Ming period. C.

LIU SHANG 劉商, t. Tzū-hsia 子夏.

From P'êng-ch'êng, Kiangsu. *Chin shih* during the reign Ta-li of the emperor Su-tsung (766-779). Pupil of Chang Tsao 張藻. Pine-trees and rocks; also figures. A, 10. B. H, 2. M, p.655.

Ars Asiatica, I, pp.2, 3. A full-length portrait of a tall official in a long robe, standing with hands folded. According to J. C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, pp. 66-67, the picture represents Kuo Tzū-i, the T'ang general, who also is represented in a similar painting in the

Museum of St. Louis. The inscription on the top of this picture, in which it is said to represent Lü Tung-pin, was probably written for another picture by Ch'ü-chi, i.e. Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un (1148-1227). Possibly executed in the Yüan period. C.

LU HUNG 盧鴻, or Lu Hung-i 盧鴻一, t. Hao-jan 顯然 or 浩然.

From Yu-chou, Hopei. Active in the K'ai-yüan era (713-741) and retired to his country home on Sung-shan, which he described in poems and represented in a series of pictures. A, 9. G, 10. H, 2. M, p.676.

K.k. Chou-k'an, 1930. Ten pictures known as *Ts'ao-t'ang shih-chih*, representing the place on Sung Shan where Lu Hung's residence was situated. These pictures and the accompanying text were not executed before the Yüan or Ming periods, but may be based on originals by Lu Hung. Colophons by Yang Ning-

shih (947). Chou Pi-ta (1199), Kao Shih-ch'i and Ch'ien-lung. Earlier versions of some of these pictures, sometimes ascribed to Li Lung-mien, in the Abe collect. in the Museum in Ōsaka. Cf. Sōraikan, Part II, PL.26.

LU LĒNG-CHIA 盧稜伽 or 楞伽.

A native of Ch'ang-an. Often mentioned as Wu Tao-tzu's most important pupil. Active c.730-760. Executed wall-paintings in some Buddhist temples and also other religious pictures. A, 9. B. C, 1. G, 2. H, 2. I, 46. L, 9. M, p.675.

Sōraikan, L 2 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). A Holy Man in Monk's Garments and Taoist Tiara Standing on a Billowing Stream. The painter's name inscribed in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Possibly a Ming painting.

T'ai-ho tien, Ku-kung. Three oblong album-leaves

representing Buddhist Arhats with Worshippers who are Presenting Gifts. The pictures, which were found under a cushion of a throne-seat in the palace, formed parts of an album of the Sixteen Arhats; partly spoiled by mildew. Probably faithful copies of the Sung period, if not earlier. Cf. *I-shu ch'üan-t'ung*, vol. V.

PIEN LUAN 邊鸞.

Worked at the court in Ch'ang-an c.785-802. The most important bird painter of the period. A, 10. B, G, 15. H, 2. I, 47. L, 18. M, p.720.

Tōsō, p.17 (Ts'ai Shih-an collect.) Sparrows among Bamboos, Camellia and Plum Blossoms. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. A late imitation. C.

Chang Ta-ch'ien collect., Hongkong. A Dove on a Branch. Signed. Album leaf. B?

TAI I 戴暉.

Younger brother of Tai Sung; 8th century. Famous also for pictures of buffaloes. A, 10. G, 13. H, 2. I, 47. L, 54. M, p.714.

Hikkōen, Pl.II. Cowherds and Buffaloes on a Reedy Shore under a Willow. Album leaf. Possibly a late Sung picture.

TAI SUNG 戴嵩.

Eighth century. Served as an official under Han Huang when Han was governor of Chekiang, and became his pupil in painting. Specialized in pictures of buffaloes. A, 10. B, G, 13. H, 2. I, 47. L, 54. M, p.714.

Ku-kung collect. A Buffalo-cow and its Calf grazing. Large album leaf. Possibly a Sung copy after a picture by the master. Seals of Liang Ch'ing-piao. B?

Li-tai, vol. I (Ku-kung collect.) Two Fighting Water-buffaloes. Short scroll. Inscription: Respectfully presented by your servant Tai Sung. Poems by Ch'ien-lung. Seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien and Ch'ien-lung. Probably a faithful Sung copy. A later version of the same picture, ascribed to Tai I, forms part of an album in the same collection.

Boston Museum. A Herd-boy Mounting a Water-buffalo, Fan-shaped. Old attribution to Tai Sung but more likely of the 12th century.

Berlin Museum. Two Buffaloes by a Grove of Wind-swept Trees. Fan painting. Signed. Possibly a late Sung picture. London Chinese Exhibition Cat. 920. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. Two Buffaloes Fighting, two herd-boys hiding behind the trees. Attributed.

Ibid. XI. A Man Leading a Buffalo. Inscribed with the painter's name.

WANG WEI 王維, L. Mo-ch'i 摩詰.

From T'ai-yüan. B. 699, d. 759. Often alluded to by his official title Yu-ch'eng 右丞. Best known as a poet and a landscape-painter, but he did also Buddhist and Taoist pictures. A, 10. B. F, 5. G, 10. H, 2. I, 47. L, 27. M, p.28.

Chung-kuo, I, 2 (Manchu Household collect.) River Scenery with Cottages and a Boat in Snow. The inscription, in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung, may have been transferred from another picture. Colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'ien-lung. An early picture. B.

Ibid. I, 3 (Manchu Household collect.) Two Scholars Playing Chess. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. A much worn small picture. Reproduction indistinct. C?

K.-k. I. Sharply Outlined Mountains and Bare Trees by a River in Snow. Attributed to the master in a poem by Ch'ien-lung, but probably not executed before the Sung period. Chinese Cat. London Exhibition, p.19. B?

Ku-kung collect. Snow over the Mountain Stream. A handscroll on fine silk now darkened. The first section shows descending geese over the water; then snow hills with sparse trees and some bamboos, and finally larger hills. Probably an early Sung copy after the master's original which is recorded in various books. Colophons by Shên Chou, Wang Ao and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. B?

Ibid. Fragment of a handscroll. Pine-trees bending over a River. A man in a boat and others on a rock. Slightly greenish colour. Probably a Ming painting. B?

I-yüan Album (T'ung-yin kuan collect.) Kuan-shan chi-hsieh t'u. Clearing after Snowfall on the

Mountains. Deeply creviced mountains and large trees along a river in winter. The picture is preceded by the four characters *Mo lin hsiang feng*. Possibly after a design by Wang Wei, but not executed before Ming. C.

Sōraikan, I (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). Master Fu Delivering the Classics. Short handscroll. Inscription by the emperor Kao-tsung (1133). Seals of Hui-tsung, Kao-tsung and later collectors. Cf. Ōmura II, 1. B.

Ogawa collect., Kyōto. Clearing after Snowfall on Hills by a River. Probably an early copy after a part of Wang Wei's famous scroll with this name, which has been subject to retouching at a later period.

Lo Chên-yü collect. (Tientsin 1921). Clearing after Snowfall on Hills by the River. Handscroll. An interesting, more complete version of the same design as that represented in the preceding picture, though of later date. B?

Yurintaikan, II. Fishing in a Stream in Spring. Handscroll. Inscribed with the painter's name. Poems supposedly by Wu Chên, Ni Tsan, T'ang Yin and Wên Cheng-ming. Formerly P'ang Yüan-chi collect. A late imitation. C.

Rubbings of stone engravings after the Wang-ch'uan scroll. Painted copies of the same picture exist in the following collections: 1, Prof. Kobayashi, Kyōto; 2, Prof. Kaizuka, Kyōto; 3, the Fuller Art Museum in Seattle.

WEI-CH'IH I-SÊNG 尉遲乙僧.

Called the Lesser Wei-ch'ih, to distinguish him from his father Wei-ch'ih Po-ch'ih-na 尉遲跋質那, who was called the Greater Wei-ch'ih. Said to have been a member of the royal family of Khotan. He lived in Ch'ang-an for many years during the second half of the 7th century (possibly to 710). Executed a number of wall-paintings in the Buddhist temples, and also icons, all sorts of foreign objects and flowers in relief. A, 9. B. G, 1. H, 2. I, 46. L, 51.

C. T. Loo Successor, New York. Śakyamuni Buddha in red mantle; he is stepping out of a thicket of blossoming trees. Signed: "Ch'ên Yung-chih respectfully copied". The picture seems to be a close copy, executed at the beginning of the 11th century, of an

original probably by Wei-ch'ih I-sêng. Cf. B. Laufer's catalogue of C. T. Loo's pictures, Paris 1924.

Freer Gallery (14, 147). Lokapāla Vaiśravaṇa, enthroned between two Bodhisattvas and two officials under a canopy. Two musicians and a dancing girl below.

The picture is accompanied by colophons by Hsiang Yüan-pien, Chang Ch'ou and I Ping-shou (all of the Ming period) in which it is described as a work by Wei-ch'ih I-sêng. The execution of the picture is probably not earlier than of the Yüan period. Cf. Chung-kuo, I, 5.

Peking Palace Museum collect. Same picture as described above executed with colour and gold outlines on a dark greenish background. According to the inscription at the top, by Wu Tao-tzū. B?

Berenson collect., Settignano. The Admiration of a Baby

by some Women; musicians and dancers performing before them. Handscroll, damaged in part. Attributed to the master. Cf. *Delado*, Ottobre 1928. Probably a pre-Sung painting after Wei-ch'ih I-sêng.

Stoclet collect., Brussels. A Scene of Grief in the Tent of a Central Asian Chieftain. One of the women is holding a baby in her arms. The man on the platform is supported by some servants; musicians are prostrating themselves in front of him. Portion of a handscroll. Probably executed in the Sung period after an original in the Wei-ch'ih I-sêng style.

WU TAO-TZŪ 吳道子, also called Wu Tao-hsüan 吳道玄.

From Yang-chai, Honan. Act. c.720-760. Served at court during the reign of the emperor Hsüan-tsung, but travelled widely and executed wall-paintings in numerous Buddhist and Taoist temples in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. Also famous as a landscape-painter. A, 9. B, F, 5. G, 2. H, 2. I, 46. L, 6. M, p.158.

No authentic works by the painter are preserved but his style may to some extent be observed in the stone-engravings executed at various times and partly reproduced in rubbings. The pictures which traditionally are ascribed to Wu Tao-tzū are less reliable from a stylistic view-point. Among the stone engravings the following may be mentioned as type examples: 1. Kuanyin standing on waves. This engraving exists at various places, as for instance at Lin-lo shan; 2. The Black Warrior of the North (Tortoise and Snake). Engraving existing at Ch'êng-tu; 3. Confucius and Yen-tzū. Engraved on a stone slab in Pei-lin, Sian; 4. A Soaring Devil. Engraved on two slabs (at various times), which are inserted in the terrace wall in front of Tung-yo miao in Ch'ü-yang, Hopei. (These copies seem to have been executed in the 18th and early 19th centuries after certain wall-paintings in the said temple which now are in miserable state of preservation.)

Other posterior renderings of Wu Tao-tzū's designs (probably for wall-paintings) make up an album of fifty ink-drawings, now in the collection of Mr.

Junkung, Chicago. They represent mainly Taoist figures, Heavenly Kings and Judges of the Dead, and have all been reproduced in a portfolio under the title: *Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tze aus der Gotter- und Sagen-Welt Chinas*, herausgegeben von F. R. Martin. München 1913.

Of the various pictures in Japanese and Chinese collections traditionally ascribed to Wu Tao-tzū, the following may serve as examples:

Sōraikan, I (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). The Birth and Presentation of Buddha. Handscroll. Ink only. Seal of emperor Kao-tsung of Sung. The design may be taken from some wall-painting by the master, but the picture is probably not executed before the Ming period.

Kokka 179. (Daitokuji, Kyōto). Kuanyin seated at the shore in Lalitasana posture. Adoring figures on the waves. A grand design translated in colours, probably in the Yüan period. Also a later Japanese version of the same figure in the same temple. Cf. Sōgen, Appendix 19.

YANG SHENG 楊昇.

Active in the K'ai-yüan period (714-741). Famous for his portraits of the emperors Hsüan-tsung and Su-tsung and also for his landscapes painted in the "boneless" manner of Chang Sêng-yu. A, 9 (name mentioned). G, 5. H, 2. I, 46. L, 23. M, p.580.

Ku-kung collect. (Scroll reproduction, 1935). Snow-covered Mountains and Pine-trees along a Broad River; Fishing-boats on the Water. Crude colouring. The seals of the Sung (one of Ts'ai Chin) and Yüan periods seem doubtful and also the colophons, in which the picture is praised as an example of the *mo-ku* manner by Yang Sheng. B?

Nanking Exhib. Cat. 5. White Clouds and Green Mountains. C?

Nanshū Ihsu. Clearing after Snow on the Mountains; Travellers on Muleback passing over a Bridge and

through the Gorge. Ascribed to the painter in an imperial autograph inscription. B?

Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) The Broken Tree. An old plum-tree in a snowy landscape. Colours on dark silk. Inscribed with the painter's name. Cf. A. W. Bahr collect. Pl. III. B?

Yale University (A. S. Moore collect.) A Mountain by a Stream on a Clear Day after a Snowstorm. The title of the picture and the name of the painter are inscribed in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung at the top of the picture; also his seal and signature. C.

YEN LI-PÊN 顏立本.

From Wan-tien, Shensi. Son of the painter Yen Pi and brother of Yen Li-tê. The leading figure painter of the 7th century. Died 673. Served at court under the emperors T'ai-tsung (627-649) and Kao-tsung (650-683), President of the Board of Works in 657, and in 668 one of the two prime-ministers. A, 9. B, F, 5. G, 1. H, 2. I, 46. L, 40. M, p. 672.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pls. 10-24. Portraits of Thirteen Emperors from the Han to the Sui Dynasty, each accompanied by one or more attendants. A large handscroll; possibly incomplete and not the work of one single painter. Attributed to the master Yen Li-pên by several critics of the Sung period; one of them noting that the picture at that time was in a poor state of preservation, which necessitated repairs. Cf. Boston Museum Bulletin, February 1932.

Ibid. Pls. 46-51. Scholars of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty Collating Classic Texts. The composition formed the middle section of a scroll that was executed in the Sung period after a picture by Yen Li-pên (now lost). Ink and slight colouring on silk. The picture is accompanied by five colophons of the 12th century, and five of later date.

Ku-kung collect. Western Barbarians bringing Tribute of various kinds, such as strange animals and stones, to the Chinese Emperor. Several seals of the Hsüan-ho period. A short scroll, possibly executed in the Sung period after an original by the master. B?

Ibid. Hsiao I securing the Lan-ting manuscript from the monk Pien-ts'ai. A short handscroll. Old copy

after Yen Li-pên's composition. Cf. *I-shu Ch'üan-t'ung*, vol. IV.

Freer Gallery (11, 235). Liu Ts'un (who by killing his brother became the ruler of the Han state in 318) is threatening to have his minister Ch'en Yüan-ta (who had criticized the ruler) killed, but the queen intercedes to save the minister. Handscroll, richly coloured. Probably a close copy of the Ming period. Colophons by Wang Chih-têng and Han Fêng-hsi dated 1613. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi, Cat. No. 1.

Ku-kung collect. Illustrations to the Eighteen Songs of Wên Chi, accompanied by texts attributed to the emperor Kao-tsung of Sung. The pictures which are divided on eighteen leaves represent the same compositions as four paintings in the Boston Museum and a series of eighteen pictures in the collection of Mr. C. C. Wang in New York. (See under Ch'en Chü-chung and in a Japanese collection.) The colophon attached to this album is written by Han Shih-nêng and dated 1591. These pictures probably once formed a continuous scroll, but they can not be dated before the Sung period, and their connexion with Yen Li-pên seems very doubtful.

II

Painters of the Five Dynasties

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| CHANG YÜAN | 張元 | KUAN T'UNG | 關同 |
| CHAO KAN | 趙幹 | KUO CH' IEN-YU | 郭乾祐 |
| CHAO YEN | 趙巖 | KUO CHUNG-SHU | 郭忠恕 |
| CHING HAO | 荆浩 | LI AI-CHIH | 李霽之 |
| CH'IU WÊN-PO | 丘文播 | LI SHENG | 李昇 |
| CH'IU YÜ-CH'ING | 丘餘慶 | LI TSAN-HUA | 李贊華 |
| CHOU HSING-T'UNG | 周行通 | LU HUANG | 陸晃 |
| CHOU WÊN-CHÜ | 周文矩 | SHIH K' O | 石恪 |
| CHÜ-JAN | 巨然 | SUN WEI | 孫位 |
| HSÜ HSI | 徐熙 | T'ENG CH'ANG-YU | 滕昌祐 |
| HU KUEI | 胡瓌 | TIAO KUANG-YIN | 刁光胤 |
| HUANG CHÜ-TS'AI | 黃居寀 | TUNG YÜAN | 董源 |
| HUANG CH'ÜAN | 黃筌 | WANG CH' I-HAN | 王齊翰 |
| KU HUNG-CHUNG | 顧閎中 | WEI HSIEN | 衛賢 |
| KU TÊ-CH' IEN | 顧德謙 | YEN WÊN-KUEI | 燕文貴 |
| KUAN-HSIU | 貫休 | | |

CHANG YÜAN 張元 (Chang Hsüan 張玄).

From Chin-shui, Szechuan. Active c.890-930. Famous for his pictures of arhats, hence called Chang Lo-han. C, 2. F, 2. G, 3. H, 2. I, 49. L, 24. M, p.458.

Sōraikan, I, 3 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). The Fifth Arhat Fa-yeh-shê. According to an inscription, presented by Chang Yüan and his wife Fang to the Lung-ts'ang temple. Possibly a Ming copy. B? Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) Seven Buddhist Patriarchs Accompanied by Servants and Acolytes in

a landscape. Signed: *Chin-shui shan-jên Chang Yüan hui*. A colophon referring to the vicissitudes of the picture by Su Shih was originally attached to it, but has been replaced by a copy written by T'ai Pu-hua (1304-1352); the picture may be of the same period. Cf. A. W. Bahr collect., Pl.V. B?

CHAO KAN 趙幹.

From Nanking. Member of the Academy of Painting in the reign of Li Hou-chu (961-975). Landscapes, especially scenery from Chiang-nan. G, 11. H, 3, p.7. M, p.605.

Palace Museum (Scroll Publication, 1932). Early Snow Over the River. Reeds along the shores; numerous fishermen in boats. Handscroll. Signed. Title by the

emperor Chang-tsung of the Chin dynasty who, according to the colophon, received the picture from his officials. A.

CHAO YEN 趙巖, original name Chao Lin 趙霖, t. Lu-chan 魯瞻.

Son-in-law of the emperor T'ai-tsu of the Posterior Liang dynasty (907-912). Figures and horses. F, 2. G, 6. H, 2. M, p.605.

Chung-hua wên-wu chi-ch'êng, IV, 295. *Pai-ta ch'un-yu t'u*. Eight gentlemen riding on horseback in spring; tall trees and a rock in the background. Attributed.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. A Man Leading a Horse. Attributed. Short handscroll. Long colophon by Chao Mêng-fu. Also colophons by several Ming and Ch'ing writers.

CHING HAO 荆浩, *t.* Hao-jan 浩然, *h.* Hing-ku-tzū 洪谷子.

From Ch'in-shui, Honan. Active at the end of the 9th and first half of the 10th centuries. Landscapes. Teacher of Kuan T'ung. His name is usually attached to the treatise on landscape painting called *Pi-fa chi* 筆法記. E. F, 2. G, 10. H, 2. I, 49. L, 34. M, p.301.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, IV. The K'uang-lu Mountain.

Title written by the emperor Sung Kao-tsung. Inscriptions on the picture by Han Yü and K'o Chiu-sü of the Yüan period. The monumental design may be by the master, but the execution is later.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Winter Landscape. Deeply cut and creviced mountains with leafless trees rising above narrow waters. Travellers on the winding

roads. Slight snow on the ground. Ink painting on silk with additions of white and reddish pigments. Possibly after the master's design. The signature: Hung-ku-tzū, is of later date. B?

Freer Gallery (09,168). Steep Mountain Gorges and Travellers. Possibly of the Yüan period. C.

Nanshū Ithasu, V (Huang Po-yü collect.) Auspicious Mist over Mountains and Rivers. Free imitation. C.

CH'IU WÊN-PO 丘文播, also named Ch'iu Ch'ien 丘潛.

From Kuang-han in Shu (Szechuan). Active c.933-965. Buddhist and Taoist figures, landscapes and buffaloes. C, 2. F, 2. G, 6. H, 2. I, 49. L, 37. M, p.73.

K.-k. I. A Literary Meeting. The main group in this picture is the same as in the picture in the Boston Museum, which is known as "Collating Books", and

ascribed to Yen Li-pên, but the composition is completed with a landscape.

CH'IU YÜ-CH'ING 丘餘慶.

Son of Ch'iu Wên-po. Act. c.933-965. Flowers, bamboos, birds and insects. Followed T'êng Ch'ang-yu. C, 2 (under Ch'iu Wên-po). F, 4. G, 17. H, 2. I, 49. K, 20. L, 37. M, p.73.

Chung-kuo, I, 77 (Manchu Household collect.) Birds on the Branches of Blossoming Trees. Coloured handscroll. Signed with the painter's name. A?

Sōgen 19 (Tan Mou-hsin collect.) Two White Swans

by a Rockery. Coloured. Title of the painting written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. C.

Freer Gallery (17, 342). Flowers and Insects in colour. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

CHOU HSING-T'UNG 周行通. Nick-named Chou Hu 周胡, Chou the Bearded.

From Ch'êngtu, Szechuan. Active during the Posterior Shu period (933-965). Figures and animals. C, 2. H, 2. M, p.243.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. A Flock of Sheep and Two Shepherds. Inscribed with the painter's name. Poem by T'u Lung, dated 1575.

Ibid. XI. A Shepherd Driving Home a Flock of Sheep. Fan painting. Attributed.

CHOU WÊN-CHÜ 周文矩.

From Chü-jung, Kiangsu. Served as *tai-chao* at the court of Li Hou-chu, ruler of the southern T'ang dynasty (961-975). Very prominent figure painter. D, 1. F, 3. G, 7. H, 3. I, 49. K, 21. L, 36. M, p. 243.

Êrh-shih chia (Lo Chên-yü collect.) The Morning Toilet: Two Maids Serving their Mistress. Album leaf. Inscribed: *Wên-chü*. Seal of Wên P'êng (16th cent.) Cf. Shên Chou, V. B?

Chung-kuo, I, XXIII (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Men assembled in the Liu-li Hall. A group of seven scholars and a monk; some seated at a table, others on a stone-bench by a tree. The latter part of the picture is a free version of the composition attributed to Han Huang now in Hui-hua kuan. The painter's name and the title of the picture written in the style of the emperor Hui-tsung. Reproduction blurred. B.

Ku-kung collect. The Parting of Su Wu and Li Ling in Mongolia where the former is tending sheep. Short handscroll. Several colophons in which the picture is attributed to Chou Wên-chü; but it is evidently executed later. B?

Ibid. Ming-huang of T'ang playing Chess in the Presence of Visitors and Courtiers. Colour on silk. Short handscroll. No signature, but seal of Sung Kao-tsung. Possibly of the South Sung period after an earlier original. B?

Kwen Cat. 59, I. Two Girls Seated on a Mat, one playing the harp, the other the flute. Album leaf. C. Worcester Art Museum. Palace Musicians. A number of women musicians seated on a carpet playing before the emperor who is placed on a dais together with some attendants. Short handscroll. Poem and colophon by Shên Chou, dated 1507, who attributes the picture to Chou Wên-chü. Two poems by Li Po are copied by Wu Yung-kuang (1773-1843). B?

Chicago Art Institute. *Ho lo t'u*. A Concert by a Lady Orchestra. The main person of the audience, a bearded man, is placed on a dais at the opposite end

of the picture. A young woman is seated in front of him and several persons are standing on both sides. A short handscroll attributed to Chou Wên-chü in an inscription written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. A fine later version of the master's design. J. D. Ch'ên collect., Hongkong. Resting from Embroidery-work. One woman is resting in the bed, while two are seated by the embroidery frame, and two serving maids are standing by. Handscroll. B? (A later version of the same composition in a Japanese collect.)

Boston Museum Portfolio, Pl. 38. A Child among Rose-mallows. Fan painting. A?

British Museum. Ladies and Children on a Terrace. Handscroll. B?

Freer Gallery (11, 486). A Scholar Seated by a Table in his Study, occupied in cleaning his ear. A boy is bringing tea. The composition is a simplified version of Wang Ch'i-han's illustration of this motif. B?

Ibid. (35, 8 and 9). Two Fan-paintings: Three Women Washing Children in Tubs, and: Two Women, each attended by a maid. B?

Bijutsu Kenkyû 25 (Univ. Museum, Pennsylvania and Berenson collect.) Court Ladies. Two sections of a handscroll. Copies, possibly of the Sung period. B?

Ibid. LVI (Sir Percival David). Court Ladies. Section of the same scroll as the pictures above. One more section is in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. A Fairy Riding on a Flying Fêng-bird. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. XI. Fairies. Fan painting. Attributed. Colophon by Yang Shih-ch'i, dated 1412.

Ibid. XI. Ladies by Tall Bamboos. Fan painting. Attributed.

CHÜ-JAN 巨然.

A monk of the K'ai-yüan temple in Nanking. Act. c. 960-980. Went with Li Hou-chu, the last ruler of the Southern T'ang dynasty, to pay his respects to the Sung emperor in K'ai-fêng, and settled there as a monk in the K'ai-pao temple. Landscapes, followed Tung Yüan. D, 2. F, 4. G, 12. H, 3. I, 52. K, 36. L, 64. M, p. 67.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, IV. Landscape in Snow. Painter's name and title of picture written by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Possibly of the South Sung or Yüan period.

Ibid. V. Mountain Stream between Wooded Shores. Seal of the Hsüan-ho epoch. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Colophon by Chu I-tsun (17th cent.) Possibly of the Yüan period.

Ibid. VI. Topped Hills in vertical layers, covered by soft growth of grass and leafy trees. A path is leading up to the homestead at their foot. Cf. Ōmura, II, 1. A.

Ibid. XXI. Trees by a Mountain Stream in Evening Mist. Poems and colophons by writers of Yüan and later times. Probably a Yüan painting. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 35. B?

Ibid. XLIII. River Landscape in Autumn with a Central Mountain Peak. Colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, in which he says that the picture had been copied by Yao Kung-shou.

Ibid. XLIV. Pavilions under Pine-trees by a Mountain Stream. Possibly by Wu Chên. B?

Freer Gallery (II, 168). A View of the Yangtze Valley (*Ch'ang-chiang wan-li t'u*). Long handscroll. Colophons by Lu Shên and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, who says that the picture once formed part of the Hsüan-ho collect. The attribution to Chü-jan is not convincing, but it may be of the Sung period. Cf. Kokka 252. B.

Shōman (Hashimoto collect.) River Landscape with Large Pine-trees on the Shore. Part of a long handscroll. C.

Nanshū Ihatsu, V (Fujii collect.) A Returning Boat on a River with High Banks. Fragment of an interesting composition. Cf. Tōsō, p. 35. B?

Ibid. V. A Travellers' Inn in a River Valley at the Foot of High Mountains. Possibly a Sung picture, but not in the style of Chü-jan. B.

Ibid. I. Cloudy Peaks and Winding Streams. Large Pavilions on the misty slopes. Illustration to a T'ang poem. B?

Ibid. V. Low Hills and Tall Trees by a Stream. Inscription by Wu Chên, dated 1350. Possibly a Yüan picture. Blurred reproduction. C?

Tōan 5 (Saitō collect.) High Wooded Mountains. Temples in the gully, buildings on the river bank. Seal of the Yüan period. Cf. Nanshū Ihatsu, V. A.

J. D. Ch'ên collect., Hongkong. River Scenery. Thickly wooded high mountains; buildings in the clefts and on the flat shore. A long handscroll. B?

Ibid. (formerly Chang Ta-ch'ien). Towering Mountains with Rich Growth. A very large, somewhat damaged picture. A?

Kikuchi collect., Tokyo. Wooded Mountains with Streams. Rising above a winding river. Long handscroll; ink on silk. B?

Peking. National Museum Cat. The Mountain Abode. Short handscroll. Signed.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. High Mountains and a Winding Stream. A man seated under pine-trees playing the *ch'in*. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung.

Ibid. River Landscape with a Returning Boat. Attributed. Seals of a Ming prince.

Ibid. Add. 1. A Mountain Valley with Pine-trees, two men followed by a boy crossing a bridge. Album leaf. Attributed.

Hsü Hsi 徐熙.

From Nanking. Member of a prominent family. He was active under the Southern T'ang dynasty and died before 975. Famous flower and bird-painter; rival of Huang Ch'üan. D, 3. F, 4. G, 17. H, 3. I, 49. K, 2. L, 5. M, p. 354.

Chung-kuo, I, 14 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Hundred Birds. White herons and other water-fowl along a river shore. Handscroll. Probably a post-Sung picture. C.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XLV. A Pheasant among Peonies and Magnolia Flowers. Inscription: *Chung-ling Hsi Hsi*. The design may be by the master but execution with colours on blue ground is probably a little later.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang 106. (Manhui Household collect.) A large Lotus Flower and a Bud. Album leaf. Attributed. B?

Nanga Taisei, XVI, 1-2. A rich composition of Flowering Shrubs and Trees. Handscroll. Possibly late Sung or Yüan. Reproduction indistinct. C?

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. A *Mutan* Flower. Album leaf; signed with the painter's name. B?

Peking National Museum Cat. Nine Quails. Handscroll. Signed. Inscriptions by Sung, Yüan and Ming writers.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Two Birds Standing on a Rock by a Pond. Fan painting. Attributed.

HU KUEI 胡瓌.

A Kitan painter active during the Posterior T'ang dynasty (923-935). Horses and Mongolian landscapes. E. F. 2. G. 8. H. 2. I. 49. L. 10. M. p.292.

Ku-kung collect. Four Mongols on the Horseback holding Falcons ready for the Hunt. Executed with slight colour in a fine kung-pi manner. Large album leaf. Seals of Liang Ch'ing-piao. A.

Ibid. Three Mongols on Horseback on a Sandy Plain, and a Large Dog. Executed with colours in a fine kung-pi manner on silk. Large album leaf, part of the *Ming-hua chi-chên* album. A.

HUANG CHÜ-TS'AI 黄居采, i. Po-luan 伯鸞.

Son of Huang Ch'üan. B. 933. d. after 993. Served as a *tai-chao* under the Later Shu dynasty (929-966) and also under the emperor Kao-tsung of Sung. Flowers, birds and landscapes. C. 2. D. 3. F. 4. G. 17. H. 3. I. 50. K. 17. L. 31. M. p. 540.

Ku-kung collect. Ten Doves on a large Branch stretching over the Water from a rocky Shore. Large album leaf. Possibly of the South Sung period. Seals of Liang Ch'ing-piao. B?

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, X. A Pheasant and Small Birds by Dry Jujube Shrubs. Painter's name written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. B?

Ibid. XXXIII. Three Wild Geese on a Snowy Shore. A? Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 17 (Manchu Household collect.)

A Purple Peony Flower. Album leaf. Signed. C?

Shima Kacho Gasatsu. Mandarin Ducks. Attributed. B? Boston Museum Portfolio, Pl.139. A Parakeet on a

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 111 (Manchu Household collect.) Three Men on Galloping Horses. Album leaf. Attributed. C.

Boston Museum Portfolio, Pl.37. Mongol Horseman with a Hawk and a Quarry. Fan painting. Old attribution. Cf. Kokka 263. A?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add. 1. A Mongol with a Musical Instrument, a camel resting on the ground. Fan painting. Attributed.

Blossoming Pear-branch. Album leaf. Possibly 13th century.

Metropolitan Museum. Two White Camellia Flowers and a Small Bird on the branch. Fan painting. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Sparrow Fighting among Reeds. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. XI. Two Small Birds on Stalks of Reeds. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. Add. 1. Birds Gathering in Bare Trees and on Rocks in Snow. Album leaf. Attributed.

HUANG CH'ÜAN 黄筌, i. Yao-shu 要叔.

From Ch'engt'u, Szechuan. B. c.900. d. 965. Served as a *tai-chao* under Mêng Ch'ang of the Later Shu dynasty (935-965). Painted flowers and birds in the *ma-ku* manner, and also Buddhist and Taoist subjects. C. 1. D. 3. F. 2. G. 16. H. 2. I. 49. L. 31. M. p.539.

Chung-kuo, I, 12 (Manchu Household collect.) Chrysanthemum Flowers. Album leaf. Seal of the painter and later seals. Indistinct reproduction in colour. C? Kwen Cat. 7. Doves Gathering around a Bowl at the Foot of a Rockery. B?

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XL. Four Crows in a Bare Willow and Two Ducks on the Water in Snow. Album leaf. Possibly of the South Sung period. Seal of Liang Ch'ing-piao.

Hui-hua kuan. Studies from nature, Birds and Insects. Colours on paper. According to the inscription, these

studies were presented by Huang Ch'üan to his son, Chü-pao. A short handscroll. A.

Sōraikan, I, 6 (Abe collect.) Two Cranes under Bamboos. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Possibly Ming. B?

Yale University (A. S. Moore collect.) Birds Gathering by a Willow Pool. Long handscroll painted in heavy colours on paper. The title and the painter's name written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Numerous seals and inscriptions, the earliest dated 1032, but the picture may be a little later.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 83 (Manchu Household collect.)
A Lotus Bud and a Large Leaf. Album leaf. C.

Nanga Taisei, VI, 1. A Small Bird on the Branch of
a Lichee. Album leaf. Inscription by Wang Ao (1450-
1524). B?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol. IV. A Cat eating a Fish.
Large album leaf. Inscribed: *Huang Ch'üan shih yü*
mao. B.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Flowers, Grasses and Insects.
Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. XI. Ducks among Reeds. Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. XI. A Pa-ko Drinking from a Water-bowl.
Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. Add. 1. A Sparrow on the Bank of a Stream with
Autumnal Plants. Fan painting. Attributed.

KU HUNG-CHUNG 顧閎中.

From Chiang-nan. Served as a *tai-chao* at the court of the emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Southern T'ang dynasty
(943-960). Contemporary with Chou Wên-chü. Figures. G, 7. H, 3. I, 49. K, 29 (same as H, 3). L, 52. M, p.736.

Hui-hua kuan (formerly Manchu Household collect.)
Han Hsi-tsai's Night Revels. Long handscroll; ink and
light colours on silk. Colophons of later dates.
Probably an exact early Sung copy after Ku Hung-
chung's original. Portions of it have been reproduced
also by later painters.

Chung-kuo, I, 13 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) A Cock Fight
in the presence of numerous onlookers in a garden.
Cf. Tōsō, p.18. B?

KU TÊ-CH'ÏEN 顧德謙.

From Nanking. Favourite of Li Hou-chu of the Southern T'ang dynasty (961-975). Figures, flowers and birds.
F, 3. G, 4. H, 3. I, 49. K, 29 (same as H, 3). L, 52. M, p.736.

Kokka 297 (National Museum, Tokyo.) Two Man-
darin Ducks among Lotus Flowers. Two Herons
among Lotus Flowers. Two pictures forming a pair.
Probably of the 13th century. Cf. the large pictures
of lotus flowers and birds in Chion-in, Kyoto (listed
under the name of Yü Ching-yen). B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl.102. Wên Chi's Return
to China. Album leaf. Attributed to the master but
possibly somewhat later. Cf. Kokka 257.

KUAN-HSIU 貫休. Family name Chiang 姜, personal name Hsiu 休. *i.* Tê-yin 德隱 and Tê-yüan 德遠. *h.* Ch'an-
yüeh 禪月.

From Chin-hua, Chekiang. B, 832, d. 912. A Ch'an monk, famous also as poet. Travelled in various provinces,
painted in several temples and settled finally in Ch'eng-tu, where he was received with great honours. Mainly
Buddhist figures. C, 3. F, 2. G, 3. H, 2. I, 49 (same as C, 3). L, 64. M, p.370.

Tōsō, pp.6-11 (Imperial Household collect., Tokyo;
formerly Baron K. Takahashi). The Sixteen Arhats.
Attributed. One of the pictures with inscription by the
artist and the date 880-894. Tōyō VIII, Pls.10, 11. A?

Kokka 253. An Arhat with a Monkey; An Arhat with a
Tiger. Shimbi VI. An Arhat Scratching his Back.
Tōyō VIII. An Arhat Seated on a Chair Reading a
Sūtra; An Arhat Seated under a Tree with a Duster.
The above-mentioned five pictures belong to the

series of the Sixteen Arhats in Kōdaiji, Kyōto, said to
have been brought from China in 1211. B?

Ibid. 406 (Marquis Asano). An Arhat. An ink-painting
of the same kind as the two following. Possibly of
the South Sung or Yüan period. C.

Ibid. (Baron Fujita, Ōsaka). An Arhat with a Tiger; An
Arhat Reading a Sūtra; An Arhat with an Incense-
burner. Three ink paintings from the same series as the
previous one. C.

Mutō Cat. 12. An Arhat Seated under a Knotty Leafless Tree. This as well as a similar picture in the Nezu Museum are of the same series as the two preceding ones. C.

Freer Gallery (16, 35). A Lohan Seated under a Tree Served by a Tortoise. Possibly of the Ming period. Cf. the above-mentioned pictures in Japanese collect. C.

KUAN T'UNG 關同 or 關仝.

From Ch'ang-an. Active in Nanking during the Posterior Liang dynasty (907-923). Pupil of Pi Hung and a younger rival of Ching Hao. Landscapes. E, F, 2. G, 10. H, 2. I, 49. L, 14. M, p. 720.

Ku-kung collect. Steep Mountains with a Waterfall. A man leading a horse is approaching the ford at the foot of the mountain. No signature, but a seal of the emperor Li Hou-chu (middle of the 10th century). Possibly of the period. Cf. K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VIII. A?

Liu 10. A stream at the foot of overhanging mountains. Cf. Nanking Exhib. Cat. 10. B?

Tōan, I (Saitō collect.) Mountain Landscape with a Ferry. Signed. Title and painter's name inscribed by Prince Yün in the year 1111. Cf. Nanshū Ithats.

The picture has been restored and is made up of three pieces. B.

Yurintaikan, I (Fujii collect.) Mountain Ridge Rising over a River, Pavilions at its Foot. Painter's name inscribed in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Colophons attached to the picture by Tsou Ti-kuang (1617) and others. A late transcription of an early design. C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. The Western Mountains at Sunset. Fan painting. Attributed.

KUO CH'EN-YU 郭乾祐.

From Ch'ing-chou, Shantung. Active during the Southern Tang period (937-975). Brother of the painter Kuo Ch'ien-hui 郭乾晖. Flowers and birds. G, 15. H, 2. I, 49 (same as G, 15). L, 60. M, p. 396.

Freer Gallery (16, 518). A Waterfall, a Broad Tree Trunk and Two Eagles. A bold design, possibly of

the Ming period, with misleading attribution. C.

KUO CHUNG-SHU 郭忠恕, i. Shu-hsien 恕先.

From Loyang. Scholar, served in the Confucian Temple during the Posterior Chou dynasty (951-959) and the Sung dynasty. Banished by the emperor T'ai-tsu; died in exile. Boundary paintings, landscapes and figures. D, 3. F, 3. G, 8. H, 3. I, 50. L, 60. M, p. 396.

Ku-kung collect. Hsüeh-chi chuang-hsing t'u. Two large junks with high masts and tackles loaded with freight and men. Ink on silk. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung with a seal. Very dark and damaged, but may be of the period.

Ibid. The Yo-yang Lou on the Shore of the Tung-t'ing Lake. Distant blue mountains; a small boat tossed by the waves. Executed in kung-pi manner with colour. Short handscroll. Inscribed with the painter's name. Colophon by Yü Chi, dated 1349. B?

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIX. An Old Man Dipping a Scroll in the Elixir of Immortality, Served by a Fairy. Attributed. Seals of the Sung period and later ones. C.

K.-k. Chou-k'an, 488. A Hostel in the Mountains;

travellers with bullock carts approaching and leaving. Fan-painting. A?

Sōraikan I, 9 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). The Summer Palace of the Emperor Ming-huang of T'ang. Inscribed with painter's name and possibly after his design but not executed before the Ming period.

Hikkōen, Pl. 15 (formerly Kuroda). A Water-wheel under Willows. Fan-shaped. Late Sung. B?

Freer Gallery (19, 128). Mountains and High Pavilions by a River. A Ming painting possibly in part after a design by the artist. C.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Men Towing a Large Boat along a River. According to the engraved inscription on the jade toggle the picture is a copy made in the Sung period after an original by the master. B?

LI AI-CHIH 李嵩之, *h.* Chin-p'o ch'u-shih 金波處士.

From Hua-yin, Shensi. Active during the Posterior Liang dynasty (910-925). Specialized in cats; painted also landscapes. F, 2. G, 14. H, 2. I, 49. L, 42. M, p.186.

Laufer Cat. 10: A Black "Lion-cat". Album leaf. Large seal of the period Hsüan-ho. Attributed, B?

Chūgoku, I. Two Cats Playing on a Rock; Two Small

Birds on a Bamboo Stalk. The painter's name inscribed in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung of Sung. B?

LI SHENG 李昇, *l.* Chin-nu 錦奴.

From Ch'eng-tu. Active under the Former Shu dynasty (908-925). Known also as "The Little General Li from Shu". Said to have followed the style of Wang Wei. C, 2. F, 2. G, 3. H, 2. I, 49. L, 42. M, p.188.

Liu, 11. Buddha preaching in the Mountains. Part of a handscroll (?) C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add. 1. Palace Buildings; Ladies burning Incense under the Moon. Album leaf. C.

LI TSAN-HUA 李贊華, known as Prince of Tung-tan 東丹王. Original name: Yeh-lü T'u-yü 耶律突欲.

He was the eldest son of the first Liao emperor, T'ai-tsu (907-926), and brother of the second emperor, T'ai-tsung (926-947). In 931 he emigrated from the Liao realm to China and was given by the emperor Ming-tsung, of the Posterior T'ang dynasty (926-933), the family name Li and the personal name Tsan-hua. He painted the Khitan chieftains and their horses. F, 2. G, 2. H, 2. M, p.187.

Ku-kung collect. A Khitan Soldier in front of his Horse carrying a Bow and a long Arrow. Inscription by K'o Chiu-ssü. Large album leaf, forming part of the so-called *Ming-hua chi-chên* album (formerly in the Liang Ch'ing-piao collection). A.

Ibid. The King of Liao on Horseback, preceded by a soldier likewise on horseback. Executed in subdued colours with great accuracy particularly in the outfit of the men and the horses. Large album-leaf, part of the same album as the preceding one. A.

LU HUANG 陸晃.

From Chia-ho. Active during the Southern T'ang period (937-975). Landscapes and pictures illustrating old legends and fairy-tales. E, G, 3. H, 1. M, p.416.

Yurintaikan, I. Wang Hsi-chih and numerous Scholars gathered at the Lan-t'ing Pavilion, occupied in a poetry competition and the floating of their cups. Handscroll. Colophons by Hsiang Yüan-pien (1587),

and by Ch'ien-lung. A rubbing of the engraved *Lan-t'ing* manuscript is attached to the picture. Possibly a Ming painting. C.

SHIH K'o 石恪, *l.* Tzū-chuan 子專.

From Ch'eng-tu. Went to K'ai-feng c.965, where he was ordered by the emperor to execute some wall-paintings in the Hsiang-kuo ssü. Buddhist and Taoist figures. C, 2. D, 3. F, 3. G, 7. I, 50. K, 3. L, 60. M, p.75.

National Museum, Tokyo (formerly Shohoji, Kyōto). Two Ch'an Monks with their Minds in Harmony. They may have formed parts of a large scroll, but the figures seem to have been silhouetted and mounted on new papers provided with seals of the Sung period and a dubious early date. A detached colophon by Yü Chi of the Yüan period. Possibly imitations after

the master executed in the South Sung period. Cf. Kokka 95. B?

Yurintaikan. The Sixteen Lohans with their servants and acolytes. Handscroll. Signed with the painter's name. C.

Chang Ta-ch'ien collect. A Monk Seated on the Ground holding a staff. Signed with the painter's name. C.

SUN WEI 孫位 (also called Yü 遇).

From K'uai-chi in Chekiang. Active for some time in the capital, and went as a refugee with the imperial court to Shu in 880; settled in Ch'eng-tu, where he decorated many temples with wall-paintings and became very famous for his paintings of dragons and water. C, 1. G, 2. H, 2. I, M, p.344.

Shanghai Museum. *Kao-i t'u*. The Four Great Scholars.

The men are represented in four separate compositions, each one seated on a mat by a tree or a garden rock, served by a boy who brings some implement, scrolls or refreshments. Large handscroll executed

with ink and light colours on silk. The artist's name and the title of the picture written by the emperor Hui-tsung. To the picture is attached a colophon signed Ssü-ma T'ung-po, and dated 1489. Cf. *I-shu ch'üan-t'ung*, vol. V. A?

T'ENG CH'ANG-YU 滕昌祐, t. Sheng-hua 勝華.

From Kiangsu. Followed the emperor Hsi-tsung of T'ang to Shu in 880, where he remained. Died after 930 at the age of 85. Specialized in flowers and birds, served as a model for Huang Ch'üan. C, 3. F, 2. G, 16. H, 2. I, 49. L, 34. M, p.627.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIV. Peony Flowers. Red and white colours on silk. The painter's name is written at the top of the picture. Possibly a Sung painting.

Sōraikan, I, 4 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). Two White Gulls under a Willow and a Peach-tree. Inscription with the painter's name. Seals of the Sung

statesman Han Ch'i (1008-1075) and the emperor Chang-tsung of the Chin dynasty. B?

Peking National Museum Cat. Butterflies in Spring. Handscroll. Signed. Seals of the Sung period, inscriptions by several Ming writers.

TIAO KUANG-YIN 刁光胤, or Tiao Kuang 刁光.

From Ch'ang-an, moved to Shu in the T'ien-fu era (901-903) where he was active for 30 years and died at the age of 80. Flowers, birds and animals. Teacher of Huang Ch'üan and K'ung Sung 孔嵩. C, 2. F, 2. G, 15. H, 2. I, 48. L, 19. M, p.2.

Palace Museum Album, 1931. Ten fan-pictures: 1. Two Butterflies; 2. Sheep on a Hill Slope; 3. Plants with Large Flowers by a Rockery; 4. A Rabbit under a Pine-tree in Snow; 5. Chrysanthemum Flowers and Bamboos; 6. A Cat; 7. A Flowering Tree on a Snowy Cliff; 8. A Dragonfly; 9. Epidendrum at the Foot of a Snow-covered Rockery; 10. A Large Flowering Plant on a Rock by the Water. The painter's signature

on the last picture. The pictures were probably not executed before the Ming period; they all have poems by Ch'ien-lung, and they are accompanied by ten poems attributed to the emperor Hsiao-tsung (1163-1169) but likewise copied. At the end of the album is a long colophon by Kao Shih-ch'i. Cf. Chinese Cat. London Exhibition 1935. B?

TUNG YÜAN 董源, or 董元, t. Shu-ta 叔達, h. Pei-yüan 北苑.

From Nanking. Served as an assistant director of the imperial parks under the Southern T'ang dynasty (937-975). The leading master of the Southern School of landscape-painting. F, 3. G, 11. H, 3. I, 50. K, 23. L, 40. M, p.570.

Chung-kuo, I, 20 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Cottages by a Mountain Stream. Album leaf. Late imitation, C.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, I. Pavilions on the Mountain of the Immortals, *Tung-s'ien shan-t'ang*. Inscription by Wang To dated 1630. Colour and ink on silk. Composition by the master but executed later.

Ibid. II. Mountain Landscape with Winding Waters,

Boats and Figures, known as *Lung-su chiao-min t'u*. Colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'ien-lung. Colour and ink on silk. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.34. A?

Nanshū Ihatsu, I (Ōgawa collect.) Travellers' Inn by a Stream in the Mountains. Colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, dated 1601. Fragmentary picture in the manner of the master. B?

Ibid. I (Ueno collect.) A *Ch'in* Player Seated under Pine-trees at the Foot of a Hill. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. C.

Ibid. I (Abe collect.) Cloudy Valley, Pine-trees in Wind; a Wanderer on a River-bank. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung, dated 1124, and by Wang Yüan-mei (1526-1590). Cf. Tōsō, p.32; Sōraikan, II, 6. C.

Ibid. V (Kurokawa collect.) Winter Landscape; Cottages and Bare Trees on a Promontory. *Han-lin chung t'ing t'u*. Inscription by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Imperial seals of the Sung and the Yüan periods. Cf. Ōmura, II, 2. A?

Ibid. V. Summer Landscape with Trees. A man seated on the river-bank. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Late imitation. C.

Ibid. V. Floating Mist over Distant Mountains and Knotty Pine-trees. A late imitation. C.

Tōan 4 (Saitō collect.) River Scenery with High Mountains after Snowfall. Handscroll. Ink and slight colour. Colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'ên Chi-ju. B?

Nanga Taisei, IX, 8. Tall Overgrown Hills and Leafy Trees in Mist; a Man Seated on the Ground. Reproduction indistinct. C?

Ibid. XV, 1. River Valley in Mist with Fishermen in Two Boats. Reproduction blurred. C?

Hui-hua kuan. River Landscape with Fishermen Drawing their Nets and People in Boats, known as *Hsiao-hsiang t'u*. Two colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Section of a large handscroll, painted with ink and white colour. A.

Shanghai Museum. River View. Part of a large handscroll. Closely related in style and motif to the above-mentioned picture.

Chang Ta-ch'ien collect. River View; High Mountains at the side, Tall Trees in the foreground and Travellers on the Road. Painted with colours on silk. B?

J. D. Ch'ên collect. Hongkong. Fishermen in Boats on a River at the Foot of High Mountains. Colours on silk; much damaged.

Ibid. River and Mountains in Snow. Long handscroll; ink only. Colophons of modern date. C.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pls. 33-36. A Clear Day in the Valley. Part of a long handscroll. Ink painting. Signed. Colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1633), Wang Shih-min (1633), Mei Lei (17th cent.) and Tuan Fang (1911). Attributed. The picture is hardly executed before the South Sung period.

Photo, Yen Kuang Co., Peking. View over a Misty River Valley, a Small Homestead and Two Figures under Trees. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Attributed.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. Mountains in Summer. Handscroll. Attributed. Three colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.

WANG CH'I-HAN 王齊翰.

From Nanking. Served as a *tai-chao* at the court of Li Hou-chu (961-975). Buddhist and Taoist figures. D, 1. F, 3. G, 4. H, 3. I, 49. L, 27. M, p.29.

Chung-kuo, I, 15 (formerly Ferguson collect.) *K'an-shui t'u*. Examining Books. The man who is seated at a small table in front of a large screen is cleaning his ear. Handscroll. The title and painter's name written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Seals and colophons of the Sung period. Cf. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, p.82. This picture is known to me only in reproduc-

tion; a later copy of it is in the Metropolitan Museum. J. D. Ch'ên collect., Hongkong. A Man seated on a dais lifting a cup to drink. Album leaf. Signed *Ch'i-han*. A?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl. 39. Lady and Children Playing. Fan painting. Old attribution.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Figures. Colophon by K'eng Chao-chung.

WEI HSIEN 衛賢.

A court painter in Nanking in the time of South Tang dynasty. Specialized in houses, trees and figures. G.H.M., p.671

Hui-hua kuan. *Kao-shih t'u*. A Scholar in a Pavilion at the Foot of Steep Mountains. Ink on silk. Attri-

buted to the painter by the emperor Hui-tsung, but evidently of later date and much restored. B?

YEN WÊN-KUEI 燕文貴, or Yen Kuei 燕貴.

From Wu-hsing, Chekiang. Served first as a soldier, retired in the reign of T'ai-tsung (976-997). Became later a *tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting. Landscapes and figures. D, 2. F, 4. H, 3. I, 50. L, 18. M, p.668

K-k., XXVII. Three Immortals Seated in a Cave. A strange painting possibly of the Ming period. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.37. C.

K-k. Shu-hua chi, II. Towering Mountains Rising over a River. Buildings in the Valley. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. B?

Yu Chêng album (Manchu Household collect.) River winding between undulating sand-dunes and fantastically silhouetted cliffs. A few gnarled trees and a little homestead on a promontory. Long handscroll. Cf. Chugoku I, Liu, 19, and other reproductions. B? Sôraikan, I, 10. River Landscape with High Mountains

and Temple Buildings. Portion of a handscroll. The picture is worn and retouched, but has nevertheless retained its original character. Cf. Chûgoku I. A.

Yurintaikan, I. Clearing after Snow-fall on a River. Free version of Wang Wei's composition. Inscribed with painter's name. Colophons signed Shên Chou, dated 1502, and Lu Kuang. Cf. the picture in the former National Museum in Peking, mentioned below. B?

Peking National Museum Cat. Clearing after Snow-fall on a River. A free rendering of Wang Wei's picture with the same name. Signed. Seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien and others.

Paintings by anonymous artists active before the Sung period

1. Buddhist and Taoist pictures

Tôyô, VIII (Shôsôn). Painting on hide pasted on a biwa, representing Men Mounted on an Elephant, Playing Music and Dancing.

Boston Portfolio, p.30. Śakyamuni Trinity, known as "Hokke Mandara". Cf. Bijutsu Kenkyû 58.

2. Landscapes

Li-tai, II (National Museum, Peking). A Stream in Autumn with Ruddy Trees on the Shores. Handscroll. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.

K-k., I. Pointed Mountains and Bare Trees by a River in Snow. Attributed to Wang Wei in a poem by Ch'ien-lung written on the picture.

Former National Museum, Peking. Mountain Landscape with Travellers, known as Emperor Ming-huang's Journey to Shu. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. Pageant 13.

Nanshû Ihatsu, I. Sharply Cut Mountains in Snow by a River.

Ibid. I. A Man Washing his Feet in a River at the Foot of Grassy Hills.

Figure and Animal-paintings

Metropolitan Museum (41, 138). The Tribute Horse.

Eight men riding through a mountainous country conducting a white saddled horse without a rider. The picture represents a design of the early seventh century, but may not have been executed before the Sung period.

Ku-kung collect. *Yu-ch'i t'u*. Seven men on horseback riding through a landscape. T'ang design but later execution.

K-k. Shu-hua chi, vol.I. A Fisherman in Straw Mantle standing among Snow-covered Reeds. Attributed to an unknown painter of the Five Dynasties. Cf. London Exhib. Chinese Cat., p.33.

Ku-kung collect. Palace Ladies seated around a Table making Music to an Empress (?) Colour on silk.

K-k. Shu-hua chi, vol.XLIV. The Great Yü Conducting the Flood; numerous men are cutting the rocks. Colophon by Ch'ien-lung.

Pageant, 17-19 (Ôtsuka collect.) Five Men on Horseback. Handscroll. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.

K-k. Shu-hua chi, vol.XXII. Deer in an Autumn Grove of coloured Trees. Cf. London Exhib. Chinese Cat., p.32. This picture forms a pair with another similar painting of Deer in an Autumn Grove. They are both ascribed to an unknown master of the Five Dynasties period.

III

Painters of the Sung Dynasty

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-----------|
| AI HSÜAN | 艾 宣 | CHOU CHI-CH'ANG | 周 季 常 |
| CHANG HSÜN-LI | 張 訓 禮 | CHOU I | 周 儀 義 |
| CHANG I | 張 翼 | CHU HSI | 周 朱 象 |
| CHANG K'AN | 張 勘 | CHU HSIANG-HSIEN | 周 朱 象 懷 |
| CHANG MAO | 張 茂 | CHU HUAI-CHIN | 周 朱 朱 懷 |
| CHANG SHENG-WEN | 張 勝 溫 | CHU JUI | 周 朱 朱 仲 |
| CHANG SSÜ-KUNG | 張 思 恭 | CHUNG-JEN | 周 仲 范 安 |
| CHANG TSÊ-TUAN | 張 擇 端 | FAN AN-JEN | 周 范 范 寬 |
| CHANG-TSUNG OF CHIN, EMPEROR | 金 章 宗 | FAN K'UAN | 周 范 范 隆 |
| CHANG TUN-LI | 張 敦 禮 | FAN LUNG | 周 范 范 隆 |
| CHAO CH'ANG | 趙 昌 | HAN JO-CHO | 周 韓 若 |
| CHAO CHÜ | 趙 瑤 | HO CH'ENG | 周 郝 澄 |
| CHAO FU | 趙 敷 | HO CH'UNG | 周 何 充 |
| CHAO K'O-HSIUNG | 趙 克 復 | HO TSUN-SHIEH | 周 何 尊 師 |
| CHAO KUANG-FU | 趙 光 輔 | HSI-CHIN CHÜ-SHIEH | 周 金 居 士 |
| CHAO K'UEI | 趙 葵 | HSIA KUEI | 周 夏 珪 |
| CHAO LIN | 趙 霖 | HSIAO CHAO | 周 蕭 照 |
| CHAO LING-CHÜN | 趙 令 陵 | HSIAO YUNG | 周 蕭 淵 |
| CHAO LING-JANG | 趙 令 穰 | HSIEH YÜAN | 周 謝 元 |
| CHAO LING-SUNG | 趙 令 松 | HSÜ CH'UNG-CHÜ | 周 徐 崇 矩 |
| CHAO MENG-CHIEN | 趙 孟 堅 | HSÜ CH'UNG-SSÜ | 周 徐 崇 昌 |
| CHAO PO-CHÜ | 趙 伯 駒 | HSÜ SHIH-CH'ANG | 周 徐 世 寧 |
| CHAO PO-SU | 趙 伯 驥 | HSÜ TAO-NING | 周 許 道 夫 |
| CHAO SHIH-LEI | 趙 士 雷 | HU CHIH-FU | 周 胡 直 臣 |
| CHAO TA-HENG | 趙 大 亨 | HU SHUN-CH'EN | 周 胡 舜 宗 |
| CHAO TSUNG-HAN | 趙 宗 漢 | HUI-CH'UNG | 周 惠 崇 |
| CH'AO PU-CHIH | 晁 補 之 | HUI-TSUNG OF SUNG, EMPEROR | 周 宋 徽 宗 |
| CH'AO SHUO-CHIH | 晁 說 之 | I YÜAN-CHI | 周 易 元 吉 |
| CH'EN CH'ING-PO | 陳 清 波 | JIH-KUAN | 周 日 觀 |
| CH'EN CHÜ-CHUNG | 陳 居 中 | KAO K'O-MING | 周 高 克 明 |
| CH'EN JUNG | 陳 容 | KAO-TSUNG OF SUNG, EMPEROR | 周 宋 高 宗 |
| CH'EN TSUNG-HSÜN | 陳 宗 訓 | KOU-LUNG SHUANG | 周 宋 勾 龍 爽 |
| CH'EN YUNG-CHIH | 陳 用 志 | KUNG K'AI | 周 龔 素 然 |
| CHENG SSÜ-HSIAO | 鄭 思 肖 | KUNG SU-JAN | 周 宮 郭 思 |
| CH'I CHUNG | 戚 仲 | KUO HSI | 周 郭 郭 安 |
| CH'I HSÜ | 祁 序 | KUO SSÜ | 周 郭 郭 安 |
| CHIA SHIH-KU | 賈 師 古 | LI AN-CHUNG | 周 李 李 成 |
| CHIANG TS'AN | 江 參 | LI CH'ENG | 周 李 李 成 |
| CH'IAO CHUNG-CH'ANG | 喬 仲 常 | LI CHI | 周 李 李 成 |
| CH'IEH I | 錢 易 | LI CHIH | 周 李 李 成 |
| CHO TS'UNG | 卓 琮 | LI CHUNG-HSÜAN | 周 李 李 仲 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------|---------------------------|--------|
| LI CH'UAN | 李 權 | SU KUO | 蘇 過 |
| LI CH'UEH | 李 確 | SU SHIH | 蘇 軾 |
| LI KUNG-LIN | 李 公麟 | SUN CHIH-WEI | 孫 知微 |
| LI SHAN | 李 山 | SUNG CH'U | 宋 處志 |
| LI SUNG | 李 嵩 | SUNG JU-CHIH | 宋 汝良 |
| LI T'ANG | 李 唐 | SUNG LIANG-CH'EN | 宋 宋良 |
| LI TI | 李 迪 | SUNG TI | 宋 宋迪 |
| LI TSUNG-CH'ENG | 李 宗成 | TAI YÜAN (WAN) | 戴 婉 |
| LI TS'UNG-HSÜN | 李 從訓 | T'ANG CHENG-CHUNG | 湯 正仲 |
| LI WEI | 李 璋 | T'ANG SU | 唐 宿翁 |
| LI YEN-CHIH | 李 延之 | TSU-WENG | 唐 卒崔 |
| LIANG K'AI | 梁 楷 | TS'UI CH'UEH | 崔 白 |
| LIANG SHIH-MIN | 梁 師閔 | TS'UI PO | 崔 完 |
| LIEN PU | 廉 布 | WAN-YEN T'AO | 完 顏 |
| LIN CH'UN | 林 椿 | WANG CHÜ-CHENG | 王 居正 |
| LIN T'ING-KUEI | 林 庭珪 | WANG HSI-MENG | 王 希孟 |
| LIU CHING | 劉 涇 | WANG HSIAO | 王 曉 |
| LIU SSÜ-I | 劉 思義 | WANG HUI | 王 輝 |
| LIU SUNG-NIEN | 劉 松年 | WANG I-MIN | 王 逸民 |
| LIU TS'AI | 劉 桀 | WANG KUAN | 王 璠 |
| LIU YÜAN | 劉 元 | WANG LI-YUNG | 王 利用 |
| LIU YUNG-NIEN | 劉 永年 | WANG NING | 王 凝 |
| LO-CH'UANG | 羅 窗 | WANG SHEN | 王 詵 |
| LOU KUAN | 樓 觀 | WANG TING-KUO | 王 定國 |
| LU CHUNG-YÜAN | 陸 仲淵 | WANG T'ING-YÜN | 王 庭筠 |
| LU HSIN-CHUNG | 陸 信忠 | WANG TSAO | 王 藻 |
| LU SSÜ-LANG | 陸 四郎 | WEN (JIH-KUAN) | 溫 (日觀) |
| LU TSUNG-KUEI | 魯 宗貴 | WEN T'UNG | 文 同 |
| MA CHAO | 馬 肇 | WU-CHUN HO-SHANG | 無 準和尚 |
| MA FEN | 馬 賁 | WU PING | 吳 炳 |
| MA HO-CHIH | 馬 和之 | WU SHU-MING | 吳 叙明 |
| MA HSING-TSU | 馬 興祖 | WU TSUNG-YÜAN | 吳 武宗元 |
| MA K'UEI | 馬 逵 | WU TUNG-CH'ING | 吳 洞清 |
| MA KUNG-HSIEN | 馬 公顯 | WU YÜAN-YÜ | 吳 元瑜 |
| MA LIN | 馬 麟 | YANG PEI | 楊 肅 |
| MA SHIH-JUNG | 馬 世榮 | YANG PU-CHIH | 楊 補之 |
| MA YÜAN | 馬 遠 | YANG SHIH-HSIEN | 楊 士賢 |
| MAO I | 毛 益 | YEH NIEN-TSU | 葉 念祖 |
| MAO SUNG | 毛 松 | YEN-SOU | 嚴 叟 |
| MI FEI | 米 芾 | YEN SU | 燕 肅 |
| MI YU-JEN | 米 友仁 | YEN TZ'Ü-P'ING | 閻 次平 |
| MOU I | 牟 益 | YEN TZ'Ü-YÜ | 閻 次子 |
| MU-CH'I | 牧 谿 | YIN-T'Ö-LO | 閻 陀羅 |
| P'EI WEN-NI | 裴 文睨 | YÜ-CHIEN | 因 玉潤 |
| PO LIANG-YÜ | 白 良玉 | YÜ CH'ING-YEN | 於 青言 |
| SU HAN-CH'EN | 蘇 漢臣 | YÜ CHUNG-WEN | 虞 仲文 |

AI HSÜAN 艾宣.

From Nanking. Member of the Academy of Painting during the reign of the emperor Shên-tsung (1068-1085). Flowers and birds. F, 4. G, 18. H, 3. I, 50. K, 30. L, 54. M, p.83.

National Museum, Peking. Egg-plants and Cabbages. Signed. B?

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol. I, 7. Two Flowering Poppy Plants. Fan painting. A.

Laufer Cat. 23. Fading Lotus and Two Herons. Attributed. B?

Shina Kachō Gasatsu. 44. Four Magpies Attacking a Grasshopper. A?

CHANG HSÜN-LI 張訓禮, see Chang Tun-li 張敦禮.

CHANG I 張翥, t. Hsing-chih 性之, h. Chu-lin 竹林.

From Nanking. Active in the reign of the emperor Li-tsung (1225-1264). Figures. H, 4.

Liang Chang-chū Cat. 11. Portrait of a Tang Princess Seated by a Table. Attributed. C.

CHANG K'AN 張勣.

From Wa-ch'iao, Hopei. Active c. the end of the 10th century. Horses. F, H, 3. p. 24. M, p. 459.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. A Horse Rolling on the Ground. The horseman is seated at the side arranging his arrows. Attributed.

CHANG MAO 張茂, t. Ju-sung 如松.

Native of Hangchow. Active in Kuang-tsung reign (1190-1193). Member of the Academy of Painting. Said to have painted landscapes, birds and flowers, but no particular work of his is mentioned. H, 4. I, 5. M, p. 462.

Hui-hua kuan. Two Ducks in Water. Signed. Fan-shaped. A?

CHANG SHENG-WÊN 張勝溫.

Active at the beginning of the 13th century in the South. Not recorded.

Ku-kung collect. A long handscroll representing Buddhas, Lohans and Bodhisattvas, as for instance various forms of Kuanyin. Rich colouring. Painted

according to the inscription in the Country of Tali in the fifth year of Shên-tê, i.e. 1240.

CHANG SSÜ-KUNG 張思恭.

Unrecorded in Chinese books but mentioned in *Kundaikan Sayōchoki* (No. 15), where he is placed in the Northern Sung period. Said to have followed Li Kung-lin but painted mainly Buddhist figures.

Kokka 149 (Jison-in, Kyōto). A set of three pictures: Śakyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Attributed.

Ibid. 278 (Kōzanji, Kyōto). Portrait of the Priest Pu-k'ung. Attributed. Cf. Shimbi, XIV; Toyo VIII; Tōsō, p. 130.

Ibid. 249 (Marquis Inouye). Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāstānaprāpta(?) Attributed.

Ibid. 489 (Senshuji, Mie). Amitābha and Two Bodhisattvas. Attributed.

Shimbi, III (Ninnaji, Kyōto). Mayura-vidyārāja (K'ung Ch'üeh Ming Wang) Riding on a Peacock. Attributed. Cf. Tōyō, VIII.

Ibid. VIII (Matsumo-o-dera, Tango). Samantabhadra on the Elephant. Attributed.

Sōgen 73 (M. Okazaki). Śākyamuni Standing on Lotus Flowers, with one hand in Varadamudra. Attributed.

Bijutsu Kenkyū 56 (Kenchōji, Kamakura). Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Attributed.

Kawasaki Cat. 45. Amitābha Escorted by Eight Bodhisattvas. Attributed.

Ibid. 49. Kṣitigarbha (Ti Tsang) Bodhisattva. Attributed. Boston Museum, Portfolio, p. 125. Mañjuśrī on the Lion, attended by a groom. In the style of the master.

CHANG TSÊ-TUAN 張擇端, i. Chêng-tao 正道.

From Tung-wu. Active at the beginning of the 12th century in K'aifêng and Hangchow. Painted landscapes, boats, carriages, bridges, etc. H. K., 12. M., p. 461. V., p. 970.

Hui-hua kuan. A long scroll illustrating the Ch'ing-ming Festival at K'aifêng. Painting in colours on silk. Rich in realistic details, but darkened. A?

Another early version of the same picture is in the Ku-kung collect.; later versions in the Metropolitan Museum and a private collect., Hongkong.

EMPEROR CHANG-TSUNG OF CHIN 金章宗 (1190-1208).

B. 1168, d. 1208. Collector and patron of art.

I-shu ts'ung-pien, 19. A Young Woman, holding a dog in her arms and standing by a curtain which she lifts with her hand. Attributed. C.

CHANG TUN-LI 張敦禮.

Two painters with this name were active in the Sung period. The older was a man from K'aifêng, selected to marry the daughter of the emperor Ying-tsung, in the Hsi-ning era (1068-1077), but according to *T'u-hui pao-chien*, he was the son-in-law of the emperor Chê-tsung (1086-1100). In the time of Hui-tsung, he was made a general. Followed the style of early masters such as Ku K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei. H., 3. M., p. 459. V., p. 955.

Boston Museum. Illustrations to the Nine Songs of Ch'ü Yüan, representing: 1. The Great Unity; 2. The Lady and the Mistress of Hsiang; 3. The Senior Arbiter of Fate, and six more subjects of the Songs. Mounted as a handscroll together with the text. The colophon attached to this scroll in which it is ascribed

to Chang Wu (1280-1357), seems to have been written for another picture; the earlier attribution on a label was "Chang Tun-li". The designs may be by the older Chang Tun-li, but the execution is not so early.

The younger Chang Tun-li changed his name to Chang Hsün-li 張訓禮 when in the reign of the emperor Kuang-tsung (1190-1194) *him* became taboo. Followed Li T'ang as a painter of landscapes and figures. Said to have been the teacher of Liu Sung-nien. H., 4, p. 14. M., p. 460.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXXV. Scholars Drinking Wine and Examining Pictures in a Garden. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Attributed.

K.-k. Chou-k'an, 480. A Palace on the Shore of a Lake at the foot of a cliff. Album leaf. Attributed. A colophon by the emperor Kao-tsung on the opposite leaf.

CHAO CH'ANG 趙昌, t. Ch'ang-chih 昌之.

From Kuang-han, Szechuan. Active at the beginning of the 11th century. Flowers and birds, followed Tiao Kuang-yin and became particularly famous for his close studies of nature. D, 3. F, 4. G, 18. H, 3. I, 50. K, 26. L, 47. M, p.609.

K.-k., XXI. Flowers of the New Year's Day: Plum-blossoms, Camellias, Narcissi, and Others by a Rockery. Inscribed with the painter's name. Poem by Ch'ien-lung who regrets that the picture has been cut down in size. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 38. A?

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XX. Four Magpies in a Blossoming Tree. Colophon signed Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. B?

Ibid. XXVI. Peonies, Epidendrums and Fungi by a Rockery. Inscribed with painter's name. Cf. London Exhib., Chinese Cat., p.39. B?

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol.I, 6. A Branch of Blossoming Apricot-tree. Fan painting. A?

Hui-hua kuan. Butterflies, Grasshoppers and Water Plants. Colours and ink on paper. Short handscroll. Attributed to the master, but not in his style. B.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 34 (Manchu Household collect.) A Pair of Wild Geese, standing by some rushes. Fan painting. Signed. B?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol.IV. Orchid, Bamboo, Chrysanthemum and Insects. Large album leaf. B?

Chung-kuo ming-hua, VI. White Flowers on a Tall Stalk. Painter's name written by the emperor Hui-tsung. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. A?

Tōyō, VIII (Sugahara collect., Kamakura). A Branch of White Jessamine. Fan painting. Cf. Kokka 241. A?

Sōgen Meigashū, 5 (Baron Dan). A Lotus Bud and a Split Seed-case. Album leaf. B.

Ibid. 16 (Marquis Inouye). Bamboo Stalks with Winged Insects. Short handscroll. Cf. Kokka 243. B.

Ibid. 62. (Magoshi collect.) An Orange and Two Peaches. Painter's seal. C.

Kokka 395 (Marquis Asano). A Branch of a Blossoming Apple-tree. Fan painting. A?

Hikkōen, Pl.35. Chrysanthemums and Peonies in a Basket. Album leaf. B?

British Museum. Two White Geese Resting on the Shore. Inscribed: *Chao Ch'ang from T'ien-shui*. Probably the artist's design. B?

S.C.T.K. Hsü-pien, X. Plover and Flowers. A fragment. C.

CHAO CH'U 趙璜.

Lived in Ningpo at the end of the South Sung period; painted Buddhist icons. See *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, No.46.

Hokkekyōji, Chiba-ken. Series of Sixteen Arhats mounted on two screens. Signed.

CHAO FU 趙鼎 or 趙蕃.

Native of Chên-chiang, Kiangsu. Active in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). Became famous for his pictures of the Chin and Chiao Islands in the Yangtse. H, 4. K, 26. M, p.613.

Hui-hua kuan. Ten Thousand Li of River and Mountains. Long handscroll, painted with ink only in a broad manner on paper. Signed. A.

CHAO K'O-HSIUNG 趙克復.

A member of the royal house of Sung who became a general. Fishes. H, 3. G, 9. M, p.607.

Metropolitan Museum. Fish at Play among Water-plants. Album leaf. Old attribution. A?

CHAO KUANG-FU 趙光輔.

From Hua-yüan, Shensi. Member of the Academy of Painting in the reign of T'ai-tsu (960-975). Figures and horses. F. H, 3, p. 17. M, p. 608.

W. Hochstadter, New York. *Man-wang li-Fo i'u*. Barbarian Chieftains worshipping Buddha. Painting with colours. Handscroll. A?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add. 1. Horses Grazing in the Open Field. Fan painting. Signed.

CHAO K'UEI 趙葵, t. Nan-chung 南仲, h. Hsin-an 信庵.

From Hêng-shan, Hunan. *Chin-shih* in 1266, known as poet and a prominent official. Specialized in plum-blossoms. M, p. 613.

Shanghai Museum (Gems, II, 5). *Tu Fu Shih-i i'u*. Bamboo groves along a river; small figures travelling on foot and on horseback and a scholar in his study.

Ink painting on silk. Title of the picture written by Ch'ien-lung. Colophon by Chang Chu (Yüan Dynasty) attributing the picture to Chao K'uei. A?

CHAO LIN 趙霖.

Active as a painter in the reign of emperor Hsi-tsung of Chin dynasty (1135-1148). M, p. 614.

Hui-hua kuan. The Six Horses of Emperor T'ang Tai-tsung, painted after the famous stone reliefs which decorated the emperor's tomb near Ch'ang-an. Each

horse is accompanied by an inscription. Colours on silk. Handscroll. A.

CHAO LING-CHÜN 趙令駿, t. Chung-shêng 景升.

Brother of Chao Ling-jang. Active at the end of 11th century. Figures and landscapes. M, p. 610. V, p. 1392.

Freer Gallery (17, 113). The Brushing of the White Elephant. Attributed. Early design, but probably executed in the seventeenth century.

CHAO LING-JANG 趙令穰, t. Ta-nien 大年.

Active c. 1070-1100. Member of the imperial Sung family; high official. Landscapes, particularly misty river scenes. G, 20, H, 3, I, 50, K, 26, L, 47, M, p. 609.

Shên Chou, III. Village by the River at the Foot of High Mountains. Inscribed with painter's name. B?

Ming-jên shu-hua, 24. An Open Bay with Fishing-boats; Willows on the Shore. B?

Tōyō, VIII, Pl. 27 (T. Hara collect.) River Landscape in Mist, with Geese and Flocking Crows. Fragment of a handscroll. Cf. Kokka 41; Shimbi, XIX. A.

Ibid. Pl. 26 (Akaboshi collect.) A Farmhouse among Trees by a Bay. Fragment of a handscroll. Cf. Kokka 224. B?

Huang Chün-pi collect., Formosa (ex Manchu Household collect.) River Scenery with Floating Mist.

Handscroll. Signed and dated 1100. Poems and colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and others. Cf. Kokka 494 and Sōgen, p. 7. A.

Yurintaikan (Fujii collect.) T'ao Yüan-ming and a Friend Seated in a Pavilion on a Promontory surrounded by flowering Chrysanthemums. Handscroll. Colophons by Chan T'ung-wen and other writers of the Yüan period. Inscription by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang with attribution to the painter. Refined old imitation. B?

Tōsō, p. 36 (Hayasaki collect.) River Scenery with Mountains in Snow and Flocking Crows. Fragment of handscroll. A?

Ibid. p.41 (Li Tsung-ch'ing collect.) High Mountains and Trees by a River in Snow. Inscribed with painter's name. Cf. *Mei-chan t'ê-k'an*, B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.56. A Pavilion under Willows. Fan-shaped. Old attribution. B?

Moriya collect., Kyôto. Mist and Rain over the Stream in Spring. Handscroll. Colophons by Wên Chêng-ming, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and others. B?

C. C. Wang, New York. Farmhouse by a River on an Autumn Morning. A flock of wild geese alighting. Handscroll. Colophons by Chao Mêng-fu, Kung Hsiao and others. Probably later.

CHAO LING-SUNG 趙令松, t. Yung-nien 永年.

Younger brother of Chao Ling-jang. High military officer. Flowers, bamboos and dogs. G, 20. H, 3. p.10, M, p.610.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. A Bitch with her Puppy under Hollyhocks. Fan painting. Attributed.

CHAO MÊNG-CHIEN 趙孟堅, t. Tzû-ku 子固, h. I-chai 彝齋.

B. 1199, d. 1295. A relative of the imperial Sung family; lived near Hai-yen, Chekiang. Han-lin member (1260), retired after the fall of the Sung dynasty. Specialized in narcissi, painted also plum-blossoms, epidendrums and bamboos. H, 4. I, 52. K, 26. L, 47. M, p.612.

Chûgoku, I. Spring Flowers. Handscroll. Signed and dated 1257. B.

Shên Chou, II. A Tuft of Epidendrum. Handscroll. Signed. K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXXIII. The Three Friends of Cold Winter: Branches of a pine-tree, bamboos and a blossoming plum-tree. Handscroll. Seals of the painter. A.

Ku-kung collect. Narcissi. Long handscroll. Seals of the painter. Seals of Ch'ien-lung and An I-chou (1683-1750). A.

Omura, II, 2, 3, 4 (Manchu Household collect.) Narcissi. Parts of a long handscroll. Probably identical with the preceding picture. The whole scroll is reproduced in photographs by the Yen Kuang Co., Peking. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyû*, No.15. A.

Hui-hua kuan. Two Tufts of Epidendrum with Gracefully Spreading Leaves. Inscription by the painter. Short handscroll. A.

Shimbi, III. (Nanzen-ji, Kyôto) Bamboos. Probably a Yüan picture.

Freer Gallery (33, 8). Narcissi. Handscroll. Signed. A picture with the same poem also in Tôsô, p.102. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add.1.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. A Homestead by a Bay with Water-birds, Trees and Cottages in Mist. Handscroll. Signed and dated 1100. Colophons by writers of the Tao-kuang and Hsien-fêng period.

Ibid. 11. A Village by the Water in Mist. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. A Pine-wooded Hill at Sunset. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. Add. 1. River with Reedy Shores and a Boat. Fan painting. Attributed.

C. T. Loo & Co., Paris. A Long Row of Narcissus Plants in the *pai-miao* manner. Handscroll. Two poems by Chou Mi (1232-1308), one by Ch'ou Yüan (b.1261), and others by later men such as Ts'ao Yüan-chung who attributes the picture to Chao Mêng-chien. Among the seals are those of Chou Mi and Hsiang Yüan-pien. A?

Sung Chao Tzû-ku lan-p'ü chüan (I-yüan chên-shang shê, Shanghai). A handscroll of Epidendrum intended to serve as models for students, with texts by the painter. A.

Ralph M. Chait, New York (1956). Flowering Narcissus Plants (a portion in the centre is torn out). Long handscroll.

Peking National Museum Cat. Narcissi. Long handscroll. Numerous seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien, Ch'ien-lung and other collectors. Poem by Wên P'êng (1498-1573), colophons by Wang Chieh-têng (1535-1612) and later men.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. Four Carp on a Lotus Leaf. Seal of the painter.

Liang Chang-chü Cat. 12. Two Tufts of Epidendrums and Fungi.

CHAO PO-CHÜ 趙伯駒, *i.* Ch'ien-li 千里.

A descendant of the first Sung emperor. Active at the Academy in K'aifeng and during the reign of the emperor Kao-tsung at the Academy in Hangchow. Well known and highly appreciated as a painter in the gold and green manner, particularly of architectural motifs. Followed Li Ssü-hsün. H, 4, I, 51. K, 26 (same as I, 51). L, 47. M, p.611.

Shên Chou, XI. Fairy Palaces amidst Clouds in the Mountains. Gold and green. B?

Ibid. XVI. Imperial Summer Palaces. Fantastic buildings and boats on lakes surrounded by craggy mountains and coloured trees. Poem by K'o Chiu-ssü. B?

Chung-kuo, I, 30 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Pavilions at the Foot of High Mountains by a Lotus Lake. Crudely coloured reproduction. C?

Ibid. I, 31. (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Travellers on a Steep Mountain Path by a River in Shu. Signed. Inscription by a Yüan writer dated 1342. B?

Li Tai, IV (National Museum, Peking). Fairy Palaces on the Mountain of the Immortals. Gold and green. Signature and seals of the painter. B?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 46 (Manchu Household collect.) Pavilion behind Two Pine-trees under a Cliff by a River. Fan painting. Signed. C?

K.-k., XIII. Mountains in Spring. Pleasure-boats on the River at their Foot. Poem and colophon by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. London Exhib., Chinese Cat., p.70. B?

Ibid. XXXII. A Fairy Riding on a Dragon, which is floating on a cloud over the sea. B?

K.-k., Shu-hua chi, III. An Imperial Palace of the Han period, with a great number of small figures. After Li Chao-tao. Fan painting. Cf. K. K. Chou-k'an, 180. Adjoining note by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. A.

Ibid. XXVI. The A-fang Palace in a Rock Garden. Cf. London Exhib., Chinese Cat., p.71. B?

Hui-hua kuan. Rocky Mountains Along a River in Autumn; Dry Trees and Small Buildings. Blue,

white and brown colours on silk. Signed. A large and much worn handscroll. Possibly of earlier date.

C. P. Huang, Taipei. Palace Pavilion on a Terrace rising above a River. Blue and green mountains and white clouds. No signature, but a seal of the painter. A? Tōsō, p.69 (Ch'ên Pao-ch'ên collect.) The Chiu-ch'êng Palace of the emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang. Signed. A T'ang poem copied by Wên Chêng-ming; other poems by Lêng Ch'ien and T'ang Yin. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, pp.66-69. Entry of the First Emperor of the Han Dynasty into Kuan-chung. Handscroll. Gold and green. Signed. Colophons dated in the Yüan and Ming periods. A?

Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) Spring Morning at the Palaces of the Han Emperors. Signed. A miniature scroll of later date. B?

Yurintakan, I. The Palaces of the Immortals. Colours on silk. Signed. Poem written by Wang Ch'ung. Cf. Tōsō, p.68. C.

Ibid. II. Spring Light on the Jade Pond. Handscroll. Gold and green on silk. Signed. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. I. A Dragon Rising from Hibernation. Handscroll. Signed.

Ibid. II. Ladies Looking at the Moon. Fan painting. Attributed. Colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and others.

Ibid. III. Towers and Pavilions on the Mountain of the Immortals. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. Add. I. A High Pavilion among Trees in Spring. Fan painting. Attributed.

CHAO PO-SU 趙伯駒, *i.* Hsi-yüan 希震.

Younger brother of Chao Po-chü, whom he followed in painting. H, 4, I, 51. L, 47. M, p.611.

Hui-hua kuan. Pine Trees on a Hill and a Moon in the Sky. Ink and slight colour on silk, painted in a spotty manner. Handscroll. A.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. II. Two Ladies Playing Chess, in a pavilion by a lotus pond. Fan painting.

CHAO SHIH-LEI 趙士雷, *i.* Kung-chên 公雲.

Member of the imperial house of Sung. Served as a high official at Lien-chou, Kwangtung. Painted river sceneries, flowers and bamboo. G, 16. H, 3. M, p.610.

Ku-kung collect. *Chiang-hsiang ming*: The Farmers' Life along the River. The men are occupied in farming

with buffaloes, in fishing on the river, etc. Handscroll. Ascribed to the painter, but probably not of the period.

CHAO TA-HENG 趙大亨.

Was for many years the servant of Chao Po-chū whom he imitated so closely, particularly in the gold and green manner, that his pictures often were taken for the master's works. H, 2, I, 52. M, p.613.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXVIII. Immortals on the P'eng-lai Island. Palaces and figures among the mountains. A.

CHAO TSUNG-HAN 趙宗漢, i. Hsien-fu 獻甫.

A brother of the emperor Ying-tsung of Sung (1064-1067). Specialized in wild geese; also landscapes. G, 16. H, 3. M, p.606.

K.-k., V. The Yen Mountain with Pavilions and Figures.
Signed. Colophon by the painter dated 1057. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.

CH'AO PU-CHIH 晁補之, i. Wu-chiu 无咎, ii. Kuei-lai-tzu 歸來子.

From Chū-yeh, Shantung. B, 1053, d. 1110. Literary writer, poet and official. Figures, trees and animals. H, 3, I, 50. L, 19. M, p.301.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, I. Lao-tzu Riding on a Buffalo.
Ink-painting with the painter's seal and signature.
Poem at the top of picture by a man called Chin-

ch'ing (Wang Shên?) Possibly a Ming picture. Cf. Chung-kuo, I, 34. C.

CH'AO SHUO-CHIH 晁說之, i. I-tao 以道, ii. Ching-yü 景迂.

Brother of Ch'ao Pu-chih. B, 1059, d. 1129. *Chin shih*, Landscapes and wild geese. H, 3, I, 50. L, 19. M, p.302.

Li-tai, V (National Museum, Peking). Herons and Geese Gathering on a River in Autumn. Hand-

scroll. Attributed. Three inscriptions attached to the picture dated 1132, 1133 and 1142.

CH'EN CH'ING-YO 陳清波.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chiao* in the Painting Academy in the Pao-yu period (1253-1258). Landscapes, especially views from the West Lake. H, 4. M, p.428.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. II. A Spring Morning. Landscape with palaces and figures. Fan painting. Attributed.

CH'EN CHÜ-CHUNG 陳居中.

Served as a *tai-chiao* in the Academy at Hangchow in the Chia-t'ai era (1201-1204). Specialized in horses and camp scenes. H, 4, J, 5. M, p.428.

Li-tai, V (National Museum, Peking). Egg-plants, Cabbages and Butterflies. Handscroll. Signed. Seals of Yüan and Ming collectors. B?

Yen Kuang Album, 1927 (Manchu Household collect.)
A Man on Horseback, leading another horse by a rope.
Album leaf. A?

K.-k., XXX. The Buddha of Immeasurable Age

(Amida). He is seated on a lotus flower, placed on the back of a buffalo. Painter's signature and seal. C.

K. k. Shu-hua chi, VI. Wên Chi preparing to return to China. A scene in the Mongol camp. A.

Ku-kung collect. The Parting of Su Wu and Li Ling. Short handscroll in colour. Attributed to the master, but execution probably later. B?

Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) Shooting Sea Eagles. Fan painting. Attributed on the label to Ch'ên Ch'ü-chung. A?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pls.61-64. Four pictures illustrating certain scenes from Wên Chi's life in Mongolia, her Parting from her Mongol husband and children, and her Arrival in a Chinese city. They are probably inspired by Wên Chi's Eighteen Songs, in which she describes her experiences and her sorrow in leaving her Mongol family. They were probably parts of a series; see following item. These pictures have no signatures or inscriptions, and are introduced here merely on stylistic grounds. They have sometimes been placed in the 12th century.

C. C. Wang, New York. A long handscroll of eighteen pictures, with text between, illustrating Wên Chi's Eighteen Songs. The compositions of four of these

pictures are much like those in Boston, though somewhat smaller in size and with less numerous figures. They may be approximately of the same period and belong to the same stylistic group as the pictures in Boston. The inscriptions between the pictures are in the manner of the emperor Kao-tsung. A later complete version of this series of eighteen pictures was in the collection of Mr. Mayuyama in Tokyo in November 1954.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.1. Tartars Hunting. Eight men on horseback with falcons and hounds. Handscroll. Signed.

Ibid. 11. Tending Horses by the Willow Stream. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. Huntsmen on Horseback. Fan painting. Attributed.

CH'EN JUNG 陳容, t. Kung-ch'ü 公儲, h. So-wêng 所翁.

From Fukien. *Chin-shih* in 1235. Well known as a poet in the Pao-yü era (1253-1258). Specialized in painting dragons. H, 4, I, 31. L, 12, M, p.428.

Tōyō, IX, Pl.79 (Baron Yokoyama). Cavernous Rocks and Rushing Torrents; Dragons Issuing from Clouds. Section of a handscroll. Poem with signature of the painter. B?

Ibid. Pls.80, 81 (Count Sakai). Dragons in Clouds. Two sections of a handscroll. B?

Kokka 226 (Marquis Y. Tokugawa, Owari). A Large Dragon in Deep Clouds. Poem with signature of the painter. B?

Ibid. 550 (formerly Suzuki). Dragons in Clouds and Water. Two sections probably from the same picture as the minor handscroll in Boston. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pls.134-135. Four Dragons and Gushing Water among Cavernous Rocks. Sections of the same handscroll as the preceding picture. B?

Metropolitan Museum. Two Dragons in Clouds and Mist. Section of same scroll as the preceding picture. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pls.127-133. Nine Dragons Appearing through Clouds and Waves. Long handscroll with two colophons by the painter, dated 1244; and several eulogies of the Yüan and later periods. A superior masterpiece. A.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Five winding Dragons Interlaced in a Knot. Signed. B?

Princeton University (Dubois Morris collect.) Twelve Dragons Issuing from the Mist in Cavernous Rocks and over the Rushing Streams. After the master's design. Signed. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add.1. A Dragon amidst Clouds. Signed.

CH'EN TSUNG-HSÜN 陳宗訓.

From Hangchow. *Tai-chao* in the Academy during the Shao-ting era (1228-1233). Figures, after Su Han-ch'ên. H, 4.

Mei-chan t'ê-k'an. Lao-tzū Seated on a Terrace, speaking to two high officials.

CH'ÊN YUNG-CHIH 陳用志.

Native of Yen-ch'eng, Honan. Member of the Academy in the T'ien-shêng era (1023-1032), but returned to his home town. A skilful painter of Buddhist and Taoist figures as well as profane subjects, and much praised for his exactness of detail. F, 3. G, 11. H, 3. M, pp.426, 427.

C. T. Loo's Successor, New York. Śakyamuni Buddha in Red Mantle; he is stepping out of a thicket of blossoming trees. Signed: *Ch'ên Yung-chih respect-*

fully copied. Probably a faithful copy after an original by Wei-ch'ih I-sêng (*vide supra*).

CH'ENG SSŪ-HSIAO 鄭思肖, t. I-wêng 億翁, h. So-nan 所南.

From Lien-chiang, Fukien. Lived some time in the neighbourhood of Suchou. Active c.1240-1310. Epidendrum. H, 3. L, 56. M, p.640.

Shên Chou, 2. A Tuft of Epidendrum. Short handscroll. Signed.

Sōraikan, II, 19. Two Epidendrum Plants. Short handscroll. Signed, dated 1306. Poem by the painter. A slightly different version of the same picture in the Freer Gallery (33.9). A.

Yale University (Ada Small Moore collect.) Two Small Plants of Epidendrum, executed with a few strokes of the brush. Poem by the painter and a great number of colophons of various periods. Cf. No. XXVI in the Catalogue of A. S. Moore collect.

CH'Ī CHUNG 戚仲.

From P'ī-ling, Kiangsu. Active in the Pao-ch'ing era (1225-1227). Landscapes. H, 4, p.15. M, p.377.

Boston Museum. A River View. Bare trees on the shore in the foreground and a man riding over a

bridge. Snow-covered mountain ridge in the distance. Fan painting. Old attribution.

CH'Ī HSŪ 祁序, also named Ch'ī Yū 祁嶼.

From Chiang-nan. 10th century. Flowers, birds, water-buffaloes and cats. F, 4. G, 14. H, 3. L, 50. L, 4. M, p.218.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXVIII. A Boy Leading a Buffalo. Ink-painting. Inscribed with painter's name. Colophon by a Yüan writer dated 1323. A.

Ku-kung collect. Landscape with a Buffalo. Inscription by Wên Yüan, dated 1325. Attributed.

CHIA SHIH-KU 賈師古.

From K'ai-fêng. *Chih-hou* in the Painting Academy in Hangchow. Active c.1130-1160. Buddhist and Taoist figures followed Li Kung-lin. H, 4. L, 51. J, 3. L, 48. M, p.563.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VII. Kuanyin Seated on a Rock. Signed. Possibly a Ming picture.

I-shu ts'ung-pien, 8. A Lady in Long, Trailing Garment, standing in profile. C.

CHIANG TS'AN 江參, t. Kuan-tao 貫道.

From Wu-hsing, Chekiang. Active during the first half of the 12th century. Followed as a landscape-painter the Tung Yüan and Chü-jan tradition. H, 4. L, 51. L, 3. M, p.88.

Shên Chou, XVIII. A Grove in the Mountains, Cottages by the Stream. Album leaf. Inscription by Wang To of the Ming period. Cf. Nanga Taisei, XI, 9. C.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXV. The Lu Mountain, after Fan K'uan. Inscribed with the painter's name. Possibly executed in the South Sung period after an earlier model.

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vols. 15-16 (and special publication by Ku-kung). Thousand Miles of Mountains and River: Thickets of Trees and Fissured Rocks on the Slopes and Promontories along a Broad River. Long handscroll. Signed. Inscriptions by Ch'ien-lung, dated 1747, and by four other men. Colophons by K'o Chiu-ssü, Wu Kuang, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and others. A.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Amassed Verdure of

Wooded Peaks: *Lin luan chi ts'ui*. A somewhat smaller handscroll than the preceding one, though of a similar kind. Inscription by Ch'ien-lung, dated 1785. A.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl. 141. Mist over a Valley and a Traveller on a Bridge. Fan painting. A?

Metropolitan Museum. The Hundred Buffaloes. Riverscenery with grazing cattle. Handscroll. Probably of the Yüan period. Cf. London Exhib. Cat. 1221.

CH'IAO CHUNG-CH'ANG 喬仲常.

From Ho-chung, Shansi. Active in the first half of the 12th century. Followed Li Kung-lin in his religious pictures but painted also profane figures and landscapes. I, 51. M, p. 506.

Freer Gallery (19, 175). Families Moving their Residence.

Two women are riding on a donkey and on a buffalo, respectively; one of the men walks ahead, the other after the women. Also a servant and other animals. Short handscroll. Old attribution. B?

Joseph U. Seo, New York. Illustrations to Su Tung-p'o's

(later) *fu*-poem The Red Cliff. Views of the poet's country home. He is shown in company of friends in a boat, in a bamboo grove and in the pine-wood. Long handscroll. Signed. Colophon with extracts from Su Tung-p'o's poem is written by Chao Tê-lin dated 1123.

CH'ÏEN I 錢易, i. Hsi-po 希白.

From Hangchou. Passed his *chin-shih* degree during the reign of the emperor Chên-tsung (998-1022) and became a Han-lin member. Arhats, landscapes and flowers. H, addenda. I, 50. K, 9. L, 18. M, p. 679.

I-shu ts'ung-pien, II. A Cabbage Plant. Signed, dated 1022. Poem by Yü-wên Kung-liang (of the Yüan period). Seals of the Sung period. C?

CHO TS'UNG 卓瑒, i. T'ing-jui 廷珪.

From Yung-ch'un, Fukien. A friend of the philosopher Ch'ên Ch'un of the Southern Sung period. V, p. 522.

Boston Museum. Wild Geese and Reeds. Signature and seals of the painter. A?

CHOU CHI-CH'ANG 周季常 and LIN T'ING-KUEI 林庭珪.

Two artists active c. 1160-1180 in Ning-po. Known only through a series of 100 pictures representing the 500 Arhats, executed in 1178. Eighty-two of them are in the Daitokuji, Kyôto, ten in the Boston Museum, and two in private collections.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, pp. 75-84:

75. Five Arhats Crossing the Sea, by Chou Chi-ch'ang. Signed, dated 1188.

76. The Victory over Taoist Heretics, by Chou Chi-ch'ang.

77. Indian on a Camel Offering Corals and Jewels to Arhats, by Chou Chi-ch'ang.

78. Four Arhats and Two Attendants Witnessing the Transfiguration of an Arhat, by Chou Chi-ch'ang, dated 1178.

79. Arhats Bestowing Alms on Beggars, by Chou Chi-ch'ang, dated 1184.

80. Five Arhats in the Bamboo Grove, by Chou Chi-ch'ang, dated 1180.

81. Five Arhats Watching Demons Carrying Buddha's Bones to Different Parts of the World, by Chou Chi-ch'ang.
82. An Arhat Attended by a Dragon in Meditation on Water, and four others standing on clouds above, by Chou Chi-ch'ang, dated 1178.
83. One of Five Arhats Manifesting Himself as the Nine-headed Avalokiteśvara before Priests and Laity, four standing at his side, by Lin T'ing-kuei.
84. Arhats Feeding a Hungry Preta, by Lin T'ing-kuei, dated 1178.

The following of the Daitokuji pictures have been reproduced:

CHOU I 周儀.

Active in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting. Figures. H, 4. M, p.244.

Chugoku, I. Portrait of a Lady playing the Flute.
Attributed. Probably a later painting.

CHU HSI 朱義 and CHU YING 朱瑩.

From Chiang-nan. Active at the beginning of the 12th century. Both famous for painting buffaloes in peaceful landscapes. G, 14. H, 3. M, p.91.

Laufer Cat.21. A Herd-boy on a Buffalo under two Large Willow-trees. B?
P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. A Buffalo Grazing. Two Herd-boys Playing on the Ground. Fan painting. Attributed.

Kokka 238. Five Arhats and Two Attendants with a Lion, by Chou Chi-ch'ang. Cf. Shimbi, XV.

Ibid. 274. Five Arhats and Three Demons, by Chou Chi-ch'ang.

Shimbi, XV. Five Arhats Watching Dragons Fighting in the Clouds, by Chou Chi-ch'ang. Cf. Tōyō, VIII.

Tōyō, VIII, Pl.50. Five Arhats by a Mountain Stream; a deva is descending from Heaven with lotus flowers, by Lin T'ing-kuei (?).

Ibid. VIII, Pl.51. Four Arhats Watching a Fifth, who is ascending on a cloud to Heaven, by Lin T'ing-kuei (?).

Ibid. 11. A Boy and a Buffalo Wading a Stream. Fan painting. Attributed.

CHU HSIANG-HSIEN 朱象先, t. Ching-ch'u 景初, h. Hsi-hu yin-shih 西湖隱士.

From Sung-ling, Chekiang. Active c.1095-1100. Landscapes, followed Tung Yüan and Chü-jan. Mentioned by Su Tung-p'o as a good painter who did not seek recognition. H, 3. I, 50. K, 3. M, p.91.

Kokka 280 (Marquis Inouye). Fishes playing in deep water. Old attribution. Possibly of the period.

CHU HUAI-CHIN 朱懷瑾.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting during the Pao-yu era (1253-1258). Landscapes and figures, followed Hsia Kuei. H, 4. I, 51. J, 8. M, p.92.

Chung-kuo, I, 48 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Boats on a River in Autumn; high rocky shores. Signed. Cf. Tōsō, p.103. A?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add.1. River Landscape with two Boats in Snow; cottages in bamboo groves on the shore. Fan painting. Attributed.

CHU JUI 朱銳.

From Hopei. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in K'aifeng and also in Hangchou. In his landscapes he followed Wang Wei and in his figure-paintings Chang Tun-li. H, 4, I, 51, J, 2, M, p.92.

Chung-kuo, I, 47 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) The Spring Message from Fēng-ch'eng. Ladies in a pavilion on a high terrace among clouds. Said to be after Wang Wei. C?

K.-k., XIX. Illustration to Su Tung-p'o's *fu*-poem The Red Cliff. Steep cliffs along a stream and three men in a small boat. Handscroll.

Attached to the picture is a colophon by Chao Ping-wên, dated 1228. The attribution of the picture to Chu Jui (who was active at the beginning of the 12th century) made by Hsiang Mo-lin is probably misleading, the style of it being later. It should be noted that according to the Collected Work of

Yüan Hao-wên of the Chin State, the painter Wu Yüan-chih 武元直, *tzü* Shan-fu 善夫, likewise active under the Chin government (in Peking), did a picture illustrating Su Tung-p'o's poem. As he was a contemporary countryman of the poet and painter Chao Ping-wên, this may be his work (as concluded by Mr. Chuang Yen of the former Palace Museum).

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.60. Bullock-carts Traveling over a Mountain Path. Signed with the painter's name. B.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat, Add.1. An Ox-cart Crossing a Mountain Stream. Album leaf. Signed.

CHUNG-JÊN 仲仁, *h*, Hua-kuang chang-lao 華光長老.

From K'uai-chi, Chekiang. A Buddhist monk who lived in the Hua-kuang temple in Hêng-chou, Hunan, after which he was named. A close friend of Huang T'ing-chien, who wrote comments on some of his pictures. Plum-blossoms. The *Mei-p'u* 梅譜 treatise ascribed to Chung-jên is probably by a painter of the Southern Sung or Yüan period. H, 3, I, 52, M, p.84.

Berlin Museum. River Scenery in Mist. The signature "Chung-jên" may refer to a later painter. Fan painting. Cf. London Exhibition Cat. 921. C.

FAN AN-JÊN 范安仁. Nicknamed Fan Lai-tzū 范獺子. The Scabby Fellow.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting, c.1253-1258. Specialized in fishes. H, 4, I, 51, J, 8, M, p.279.

Sōgen Meigashū, pp.39, 40 (Murayama collect.) Swimming Fishes and a Crab. Attributed. Cf. Kokka, 146.

Kokka 175 (Magoshi collect., now Hakone Museum).

Two Fishes and Sea-weeds. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 530 (Dan collect.) A Carp. Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. 571 (Dan collect.) A Fish among Sea-weeds. Attributed.

Boston Museum, Two Carp Leaping among Waves. No attribution, but it is stylistically related to some of the above-mentioned pictures.

FAN K'UAN 范寬, original name Fan Chung-chêng 范中正, *t*. Chung-li 仲立.

From Hua-yüan, Shensi. Active c.990-1030. Landscapes, followed Li Ch'êng and Ching Hao. D, 2, F, 4, G, 11, H, 3, I, 50, M, p.278.

Chung-kuo, I, 28 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Travellers with Mules in the Mountains. Inscribed with the painter's name. Seals of the emperor Hui-tsung and later men. Colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Reproduction blurred. B?

Ibid. I, 29. (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Craggy Mountains and

a River in Snow. Inscribed with the painter's name. Colophon by Yo Chün of the Yüan period. C.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, vol.II. Men with Donkeys Approaching a Stream at the Foot of Steep Mountains. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Colophons by Sung Chün-yeh and Wang Shih-min. B?

Ibid. IV. Sitting in Contemplation by a Stream at the Foot of Cloudy Mountains. Poems and colophons of the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhib., p.36. A?

Ibid. IX. Travellers among Mountains and Streams. A steep central mountain with a waterfall dominates the composition. Inscription by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. A very large and much restored picture, possibly of the period. A?

Ibid. X. Snow-covered Mountains, a Temple at the Bottom of the Gully. Inscription by Wang To dated 1649, and by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. B?

Ibid. XII. A Waterfall in Autumn among Leafy Trees. In his manner, but more likely by Li T'ang. B?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang 101 (Manchu Household collect.) River in Snow, Travellers Crossing a Bridge. Fan painting. Signed. Reproduction blurred. C?

Ming-hua lin-lang (K.-kung). Ch'ün-fêng hsieh-chi t'u.

Clearing after Snow on the Mountains. Large album leaf. Inscription in the manner of Hui-tsung and by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. K.-k. Chou-kan, II, 36. A?

Tōan, p.3 (Saitō collect.) River View in Autumn, Temple in the Mountains. Fragmentary handscroll. Colophon by Mi Yu-jên, poem by Kao Shih-ch'i. Cf. Ōmura, II and Chung-kuo ming-hua, vol.8. B? Hokuga Shinden (Abe collect.) A Man Seated in Contemplation, under large trees and circling clouds. B.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.40. River Shore in Snow with a Lonely Wanderer. Fan painting. A.

Ibid., p.42. Winter Landscape with Large Trees. Fan painting. B.

Ibid., p.43. A Deep Mountain Gorge in Snow with Pavilions and Temples. A?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Mountains at Shan-yin in Snow. Fan painting. Attributed.

FAN-LUNG 梵隆, t. Mao-tsung 茂宗, h. Wu-chu 無住.

From Wu-hsing, Chekiang. A monk, active during the first half of the 12th century. Figures and landscapes in the manner of Li Kung-lin. H, 4, M, p.374.

Freer Gallery (19, 174). Arhats Moving through Forests and across the Sea. Handscroll. Attributed. Possibly a picture of the Yüan period, if not later.

HAN JO-CHO 韓若拙.

From Loyang. Active c.1110-1125. Best known for his bird paintings but executed also portraits. H, 3, I, 51. M, p.697.

Berlin Museum. Sparrows and Rice Stalks. Fan painting.

Signed. Cf. London Exhibition Cat. 922. A.

HO CH'ENG 郝澄, t. Ch'ang-yüan 長源.

From Chü-jung, Kiangsu. Active during the second half of the 10th century. Buddhist and Taoist figures, and horses. D, 1, F, 3, G, 7, H, 3, M, pp.307, 308.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.44. A Man Trying to Catch a Horse. Inscription in the manner of the

emperor Hui-tsung: "By the brush of Ho Ch'eng". Dated 1107. Album leaf. A?

HO CH'UNG 何充.

From Suchou. Active c.1078-1085. Painted mainly portraits. H, 3, I, 50. M, p.131.

Freer Gallery (17, 114). Portrait of a Lady in White Garment, standing with a fly-whisk in her hand.

Old attribution, but more likely a South Sung painting.

HO TSUN-SHIH 何尊師.

A monk, from Chiang-nan, lived in Hunan and Kuangsi. Active already in the Lung-tê era (921-923). Cats. G, 14. H, 3, p.10. M, p.131.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.7. A Cat and Four Kittens Playing by a Rockery. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung.

HSI-CHIN CHÜ-SHIH 西金居士. His real name was, according to Japanese sources, Chin Ta-shou 金大受. He lived at a place called Ch'ê-ch'iao in the town of Ch'ing-yüan, Chekiang. Mentioned in *Kundaikan Sayûchoki* (No.37). Active at the close of the South Sung period in Ning-po, Chekiang. Buddhist figures.

Tōsō, pp.123-127 (National Museum, Tokyo). Ten pictures of Arhats from a series of sixteen. Colour on silk. Signed. A.

Berlin Museum. Two pictures of Arhats from the same series as in the National Museum, Tokyo.

Boston Museum. Portfolio, pp.106-109. Four of the Ten Kings of Hell:

106. King Ch'u-chiang Hearing a Protest.

107. King Sung-ti Revering a Sūtra.

108. King Pien-ch'êng Listening to a Plea.

109. King Tu-shih Writing a Judgement.

Metropolitan Museum. Five pictures from the same series as the preceding four.

Kokka 203 (Nanzen-ji). An Arhat. Attributed.

Kawasaki Cat.19. The Priest T'ien-t'ai. Attributed.

Ibid. 23. The Priest Shao-k'ang, with two children.

Kokka 580 (Abe collect.) Arhats. Attributed.

HSIA KUEI 夏珪, i. Yü-yü 禹玉.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting, c.1190-1225. Landscapes, followed Li T'ang. Equally famous as Ma Yüan and co-originator of the so-called Ma-Hsia School. H, 4, J, 6. M, p.318.

Ku-kung collection. Far-reaching Clear Views over Streams and Mountains. Handscroll (27 ft. long). Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Colophon by Ch'ên Ch'uan, dated 1378, and another by a later man. Seals of Ch'ien-lung and several Ch'ing collectors. The last section, which had the signature of the painter, is lost. A.

Palace Museum Album, 1931. Ten Thousand Li of the Yangtse River. Long handscroll (34 ft.). Attributed to the master by K'o Chiu-ssü, whose inscription on the picture is dated 1340. Seal of the emperor Wên-tsung of Yüan (1328-1329) and of later collectors. Colophons by Kao Shih-ch'i, dated 1698 and by Liang Kuo-chih (18th century). Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., pp.88-96. The very fluent broad manner of execution is not like the master's work, but the picture may be of his time. B.

K.-k., XIV. Looking for Plum-blossoms. An old scholar with his servant on a snowy mountain path. B?

Ibid. XVIII. Entertaining a Guest in a Mountain Pavilion under a Large Tree. C.

Ibid. XXV. The Willow Dyke of the West Lake, in Hangchow. The colophon, by the Yüan painter Kuo Pi, is probably a copy. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.87. B.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXV. The Returning Boat. River landscape with a steep mountain in the background. C.

Ibid. XXXVIII. High Cliffs by a River. Inscription by Wang To (about 1640) who attributes the picture to Hsia Kuei. B.

Ibid. XL. Two Men Seated on a High River-bank under a projecting pine. Double album-leaf. A?

Ku-kung collect. Two Men seated among Bamboos on a River-bank. Ink painting with slight colour. A?

Sung-jên hua-ts'ê (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) A Man Playing the *Ch'in* under Tall Trees on a River-bank. Fan painting. B?

Ibid. (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) Groves of Trees on a Rocky Shore; Misty River below. Fan painting. Signed. B?

Kokka 158 (formerly Kuroda). A Promontory with a Wind-swept Tree. Fan painting. Signed. Cf. Hikkōen Pl.4. B.

- Ibid. 165 (formerly Kuroda). A Herd-boy with Two Buffaloes on a Snowy Beach. Fan painting. Signed. B.
- Ibid. 193 (formerly Viscount Akimoto). Dwelling among Leafy Trees on Sharply Cut Cliffs by a Stream. Cf. Shimbi, XVI. A?
- Ibid. 203 (formerly Yamamoto). A Man and a Crane under a Pine-tree. B.
- Ibid. 247 (Marquis Inouye). Playing Chess in a Bamboo Grove. The inscription on top of the picture probably by the emperor Ning-tsung (1195-1224). B.
- Ibid. 385 (Marquis Asano). Landscape with a Pavilion Built on a Bridge. Section of a scroll. Cf. Bijutsu Kenkyū 21. Probably early copy. B?
- Ibid. 432 (Prince Matsukata). A Man Playing the *Ch'in* on a Terrace in Moonlight. Tall Bamboos growing out from the steep mountain wall. B?
- Ibid. 452 (Baron Fujita). A Man with a Staff, walking along a Precipice under Pine-trees. Signed. B?
- Shimbi, XV (Baron Iwasaki). A Wind-swept Tree on a Promontory and a Buffalo. Album leaf. B?
- Tōyō, VIII, 55 (formerly Kawasaki). Rain-storm over a Pavilion among Trees by a River. Signed. A.
- Ibid. VIII, 56 (Baron Iwasaki). River View with an Anchored Boat. Cf. Shimbi, XI; Sōgen Meigashū 19. A?
- Ibid. VIII, 57 (formerly Kuroda). A Pavilion on a Rocky Promontory among Leafy Trees. Signed. Cf. Hikōen, PL 31; Sōgen Meigashū 20; Kokka 34. A.
- Ibid. VIII, 58 (Akaboshi collect.) A Man Seated by a Waterfall. Fan painting. Signed. B.
- Ibid. VIII, 59 (Akaboshi collect.) A Man Seated under a Pine-tree looking over a Winding Stream. Fan painting. Signed. B.
- Ibid. VIII, 60 (Masao Genjo). River Landscape with Boats and a City in the distance. Section of the same handscroll as the picture in the Asano collection. B.
- Ibid. VIII, 61 (formerly Kuroda). Two Herons by a Cliff in a Stream. Fan painting. Cf. Shimbi, XX; Hikōen, PL 5. B.
- Ibid. VIII, 62-64 (formerly Mayeda). Old Pine-trees and Craggy Rocks. Three Landscapes forming a set. Probably of the Ming period. C.?
- Tōsō, p.96 (formerly Akimoto). A Misty River Valley; a Man followed by his servant walking along the steep bank. B.
- Ibid. pp.97, 98 (formerly Kuroda). Two landscapes: River Valleys with Towering Mountains and Pavilions. One representing Spring, the other, Summer. Probably of the Ming period.
- Ibid. p.100 (M. Ogawa). View over a Distant River with Boats. Mountain silhouettes in the mist. B?
- Marquis Asano collect., Odawara. A Man on a Donkey, followed by his Servant, proceeding along a river-bank towards a bamboo grove. Signed. A.
- Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pls. 85, 86. River Landscape with a Wind-swept Tree. Fan painting. Accompanying inscription by the emperor Hsiao-tsung of Sung (1163-1189). Cf. Kokka 255. A.
- Ibid. p.87. Landscape with Fishing-nets and a Group of large Trees on the River-bank. A much retouched painting in the manner of the master. B.
- Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Portion of a handscroll, known as The Twelve River-views. Each view is marked by a descriptive name written by the emperor Li-tsung (1225-1264). Only four of the twelve views are included in this scroll. Signed. The accompanying colophons are written by Shao Heng-cheng (of the Hung-wu period), Wang Ku-hsiang, dated 1562, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, dated 1627, and others. Mentioned by K'o Chiu-ssü. Reproduced in Chung-kuo I, pp.53, 54. Cf. London Exhibition Cat. 1074. A copy of the complete scroll is in the A. S. Moore collect. at Yale University.
- Freer Gallery (11, 26). The Hundred Water-buffaloes. River landscape. A Ming picture not in the manner of Hsia Kuei. C.
- Former National Museum, Peking. Four albums each comprising eighteen leaves representing The Four Seasons. Attributed. Colophon by Chou Mi, dated 1277, and his seals. Colophons and seals of later men. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. The Endless Mountains and Streams. Long handscroll. Signed. Poem by Ku Ying, dated 1350.
- Ibid. 7 (illustr. Cat. 1940, III). Snow-storm over the Pa Bridge. Signed. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.
- Ibid. 11. Temples in a Mountain. Fan painting. Attributed.
- Ibid. 11. Misty Mountain Landscape. Fan painting. Attributed.
- Ibid. Add. 1. Two Men on Horse-back in a Snow-covered Mountain. Fan painting. Attributed.

HSIAO CHAO 蕭照.

From Hu-tsê, Shansi. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in Hangchou, c.1130-1160. Landscapes and figures. Pupil of Li T'ang. H, 4. I, 51. J, 3. K, 10. M, pp.699, 700.

Ku-kung collect. A high Tower in the Mountains overlooking a dark View. Ink painting on silk in the style of Li T'ang. Signed by the painter on a cliff with miniature characters. A.

Ibid. River Landscape. The cliffs are rising steep and partly projecting; a man is tying a boat to a pole, others admiring the view. The stones and old tree-trunks are painted in a kind of zig-zag fashion, forming silhouettes against the yellowish silk. Attributed to the painter. A?

Tôso, p.59 (Chu I-fan collect.) The Tiger Hill near

Suchou. Short handscroll. Signed. Cf. Chûgoku, vol. I. A?

Ibid. p.60 (Fang Jo collect.) Mountain Dwellers. Pavilions among winding waters and rugged cliffs. Handscroll. Inscribed with the painter's name, dated 1134. A?

Boston Museum, portfolio, p.137. A Waterfall among Pine-clad Rocks. Fan painting. Attributed. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. B.

C. C. Wang, New York. A Wine-Shop in a Bamboo Grove at the Foot of Snow-covered Mountains. Large Album leaf. Signed. A.

HSIAO YUNG 蕭融.

Served as a high official at the court of the emperor Hsing-tsung of the Liao dynasty (1030-1055). Imitated Pien Luan as a painter of birds. I, 52. M, p.700.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, III. Pheasants on a Rock by a Stream. Signed, but apparently not of the Sung period.

HSIEH YÜAN 謝元.

Unrecorded. Probably an academician in the Sung period.

Sôgen 21 (Chang Hsüeh-liang). A Branch of Peach-blossoms. Short handscroll. Signed.

HSÜ CH'UNG-CHÜ 徐崇矩.

From Nanking. Grandson of Hsü Hsi. 11th century. Flowers and birds. D, 3. F, 4. G, 17. H, 3. I, 50. M, p.355.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Flowers and Birds. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. Add. 1. Autumn Flowers. Album leaf. Signed.

HSÜ CH'UNG-SSÜ 徐崇嗣.

From Nanking. Grandson of Hsü Hsi. 11th century. Flowers and birds. D, 3. F, 4. G, 17. H, 3. I, 50. M, p.355.

Kokka 388 (Asano collect.) Butterflies, Dragonflies, Grasshoppers, Bamboo, Cockscomb and Melon. Sometimes attributed to Chao Ch'ang. B?

Yurinkan (Fujii collect.) Two Rabbits and Melons. Part of a handscroll. Cf. Bukkyô Bijutsu 14. C. Shina Kacho Gasatsu. Four Quails under Maize. Attributed. B?

HSÜ SHIH-CH'ANG 徐世昌.

From Nanking. Active during the second half of the 12th century. Flowers, birds and landscapes. H, 4. M, p.356.

Freer Gallery (16, 95). Mountain Landscape with a Scholar's Abode by the River. Signed.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. Mountain Village in Evening Mist. An old man with a boy standing by a gate; a temple and a pagoda in the gully. Signed.

HSÜ TAO-NING 許道寧.

From Ho-chien, Hopei. First half of the 11th century. Lived first as a vendor of medicine in Ch'ang-an but became gradually known and highly appreciated as a painter. Landscapes, followed Li Ch'eng. D, 2, F, 4, G, 11, H, 3, I, 44, M, p.409.

K.-k., IX. Mountain Pass in Snow, after Li Ch'eng. Signed. Seals of Hui-tsung, Chang-tsung of Chin, Shên Chou and others of the Ming period. B?

Ibid. XII. Snowy Peaks in Mist, Fishermen's Cottages on the Shore. Inscribed with the painter's name and the date *chia-shên* of the Ching-yu era, tenth month, a date which never existed in the Ching-yu era. The inscription as well as the execution of the picture appears to be of a later period.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIX. Old Leafless Trees on Bare Cliffs. A?

Yurintaikan. River View with Bare Hills and Leafless Trees. Section of a handscroll. Cf. Tōsō, p.33, and scroll-reproduction by Hakubundō. A.

Tōsō, p.34 (formerly Hêng Yung, Peking). High Mountain Ridges with Pine-trees, Travellers on a Bridge. Seal of the emperor Chang-tsung of Chin. Poem by the emperor Hsiao-tsung, dated 1185(?) B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.59. Man in a Pavilion

Watching the Tide on the Ch'ien-t'ung River. Fan painting. Signed with the painter's name.

Sōraikan, II (Abe collect.) Snow-covered Mountains with Travellers on the Bridge below. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.1114. C.

Ibid. II. A Philosopher's Abode in the Mountains. Poem signed Hu Ning. C.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Fishing in a Mountain Stream. Several Small Boats on the Quiet Water. The mountain ridge along the shore forms a series of sharply cut pointed waves. Large handscroll. A.

Ars Asiatica, IX, p.25 (Oppenheim collect.) Mountain Landscape with a Sage Crossing a Bridge. Attributed. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.1207. C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. A Returning Boat in Storm. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. Blue Mountains and White Clouds. Album leaf. Attributed.

HU CHIH-FU 胡直夫.

Probably 13th century. Figures and landscapes. Unrecorded except in *Kundaikan Sayūchoki*, 39. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 84, 86.

Kokka 275 (Count Sakai). Śakyamuni as an Ascetic Returning from the Wilderness. Poem by Ming-pên (1263-1323), a friend of Chao Mêng-fu.

Ibid. 372 (Baton Iwasaki). Han-shan, the Ch'an Monk. Attributed.

Ibid. 577 (Katō collect.) Han-shan and Shih-tê.

Sōgen 72 (Yamaoka collect.) Śakyamuni as an Ascetic

Returning from the Wilderness. Inscription by Hsi-yen.

Hikkōen (formerly Kuroda). A Buddhist Monk Seated on a Mat Sewing his Garment. Album leaf.

Kawasaki Cat.20. A Boatman Speaking to a Woman, who stands on the shore. Poem by the priest Chih-ming. Attributed.

HU SHUN-CH'EN 胡舜臣.

From Chekiang. Flourished in the 12th century. Classified as follower of Kuo Hsi. H. M, p.292.

Sōraikan II, 16. High Mountains and Pine-trees along a River. A much damaged and worn handscroll. According to the inscription by the artist it was painted in 1122. Colophons by Ch'ien Yüeh (1743-

1815), Liu Yung (1719-1804), Wêng Fang-kang (1733-1818) and Wu Yung-kuang (1773-1843). A writing by Ts'ai Ching is attached to the picture. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, 104. A.

HUI-CH'UNG 惠崇.

From Chien-yang, Fukien. A monk-painter active at the beginning of the 11th century. Water fowls and small landscapes. Su Tung-p'o wrote a poem on a picture of his. F, 4, H, 3, I, 52, K, 36, L, 64, M, p.503.

Li-tai, II (National Museum, Peking), Dawn over Streams and Mountains in Spring. Handscroll. Poems by Ch'ien-lung. Colophons by Tung Ch'ich'ang and several other Ming connoisseurs. C?
Yen Kuang Album, 1927 (Manchu Household collect.) A Stream in Spring with Ducks. Fan painting. Attributed. C.
Palace Museum Album, 1932. Two Mandarin Ducks on

a Beach in Autumn. Album leaf. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.101. A?

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol.1, 2. Two Geese on a River Shore. Fan painting.

Hikkōen 60 (formerly Kuroda). Geese on a Low Promontory by a River. Album leaf. B.

Mutō Cat.15. Wild Geese among Lotus Plants and Rushes. Fan painting. B?

EMPEROR HUI-TSUNG OF SUNG 宋徽宗.

B. 1082, d. 1135. Reigned from 1101 to 1126. Reorganized the Academy of Painting and took an active part in the occupations of the artists. Specialized as a painter in birds and flowers. H, 3, I, 21, L, 1, M, p.607.

Chung-kuo, I, 40 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) A Bird on the Branch of a Flowering Tree-peony. Fan painting. C.
Ibid. I, 41 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) A Mother Sparrow Feeding Young Birds Perching on Bamboo Branches. C.

Ibid. I, 43 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Two Fighting Quails, Bamboos and Flowering Plants. Inscribed with the emperor's signature. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Vol. 7, C?

Ibid. I, 45 (P'ang Yüan-chi collect.) Three Mynah Birds Fighting. Signature and seal of the emperor. Inscribed by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.1125. B.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 1. (Manchu Household collect.) A White Paroquet on the Branch of a Flowering Plum-tree. Album leaf. Seals and signature of the emperor. B?

Ibid. 5 (Manchu Household collect.) A Bird on the Branch of a Mulberry Tree. Album leaf. Two seals of the emperor. Possibly Sung. B?

N. P. Wang, Hongkong. Four small pictures mounted on a handscroll. Three of them represent pairs of birds perched on the slender branches of blossoming fruit trees; the fourth shows a single bird on a bamboo branch. Seal and signature of the emperor beside numerous other seals of Sung and later periods. Also poems by Ch'ien-lung. Described in a colophon, dated 1242, as a work by Hui-tsung of the highest class. An exact modern copy of this scroll has lately been offered for sale in America. Twelve other somewhat similar bird-paintings form a scroll in the Fujii collection in Kyōto, which is likewise attributed to emperor Hui-tsung.

Palace Museum (Scroll reproduction 1934). A White Heron, two Ducks and some Lotus Plants at a Lake Shore. Handscroll. The emperor's seal and signature. Two colophons of the South Sung period; the first refers to the picture as existing in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162); the second is dated 1177. Numerous seals. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. Chinese Cat. London Exhibit., pp.54-62. A?

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, I. Streams and Mountains in Autumn Hues. The mist is sweeping around the trees and the rocks. Signature and seal of the emperor; poem by Ch'ien-lung. Ink on paper. A?

A later reversed rendering of this composition (attributed to the emperor) forms part of the Abe collection, Ōsaka Museum. Cf. Sōraikan, II, 15.

Ibid. XV. A White Goose Resting on a Shore and a Red Polygonum Plant. Seal of the emperor. Colours on silk. Cf. Chinese Cat. London Exhibit., p.53. B.

Ibid. XXXV. Two Small Birds on the Branches of a Lichee-tree. Hsüan-ho seal. Ink and colours on paper. A later picture. C.

Ibid. XLV. Two Small Birds in a Leafless Blossoming Wax-tree (*Ligustrum lucidum*), and two lilies below. Ink and colours on silk. Inscription and poem by the emperor. Seal of the emperor Wên-tsung of Yüan. A.

K.-k., VII. Twelve Scholars of the Sung period at a Festival Meal in a Garden. Poem by the emperor and his signature. Another poem by his minister Ts'ai Ching. Colours on silk. Academy painting. A?

Hui-hua kuan. A Scholar Seated under a Large Tree Playing the *Ch'in* to two Visitors. Colours on silk. Imperial signature and a poem written by Ts'ai Ching. Academy painting. Cf. *I-shu ch'üan-t'ung*, vol.VI. B.

Ibid. A Pheasant perched on the Branch of a Blossoming Shrub. Colours on silk. Inscription by the emperor. Academy picture. B.

Shanghai Museum. Four Magpies in a Bare Willow and Four Ducks on the Shore under some Bamboos. Ink and colours on paper. Signature and seals of the emperor (among the later seals are some of Liang Ch'ing-piao). Handscroll with colophons. C?

Moriya Collection, Kyōto (formerly, cf. Kokka 644). Two Small Birds on Bamboo Branches extending from a Rock. Signature and seal of the emperor. Green colour and ink. Handscroll. Colophon by Chao Mêng-fu. Academy picture. B? Cf. Chang Ta-ch'ien catalogue, Vol. IV, and scroll-reproduction by Shūrakusha.

Sōgen Meigashū, Pl. 1 (Marquis Inouye). A Dove on the Branch of a Blossoming Peach-tree. Seal and inscription of the emperor dated 1107. Colours on silk. Album leaf. Academy picture. Cf. Kokka 25, Bijutsu Kenkyū 38, etc. A?

Chugoku, I. Studies of Small Landscapes in the manner of various old masters. Seventeen album leaves mounted on a scroll. The inscription by the emperor on the last picture contains the dates 1105 and 1107. B?

Hakubundō scroll-reproduction. Returning Fishing-boats on a Snowy River. Ink on silk. Seal and signature of the emperor. Colophons signed Ts'ai Ching (1110), Wang Shih-ch'eng and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. B. Cf. Chinese Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore, No. XIV. (A later version.)

Sōgen Meigashū, Pl. 2 (formerly Kuroda). A Sparrow on the Branch of a Plum-tree. Colours on silk. Fan-shaped. Cf. Hikkōen. C.

Ibid. Pl. 9 (Marquis Asano). A Quail and a Flowering

Narcissus Plant. Colour on paper. Two painted seals of the emperor. Cf. Kokka 386. B.

Tōsō, p. 52 (Nezu collect.) A Small Bird on a Large Pomegranate. Colours on silk. Album-leaf. B?

Ibid. p. 53 (Nezu collect.) Two Small Birds on the Branches of a Shrub with Clusters of White Flowers. Colours on silk. Fan-shaped. B?

Hakone Museum. A Bird on the Branch of a Fruit-tree in Bloom. Attributed. B?

Boston Museum (formerly Yamamoto). A Five-coloured Paroquet on the Branch of a Blossoming Apricot-tree. Colours on silk. A poem and a colophon by the emperor; also seals of Hui-tsung and of the emperor Wên-tsung of Yüan. Academy painting. Cf. Kokka 472, Tōsō, p. 51, etc. A?

Ibid. Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk. A handscroll in colours which, according to the inscription by the emperor Chang-tsung of Chin dynasty (d. 1209), was copied by Hui-tsung after a picture by Chang Hsüan (c. 713-742). The picture is followed by colophons by Chang Shên (c. 1350-1400), Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704) and others. A.

Former National Museum, Peking. A She-monkey with her Baby; a Tuft of Dandelions and Beetles. Signature and seal of the emperor. Old copy.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. Landscape with Figures and Buildings, in blue and green. According to the inscription, painted for Prince Yün. Inscriptions by several Yüan painters. Handscroll.

Ibid. 7. Two Quails and Some Jujube Branches. Signed.

Ibid. 11. Two Quails. Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. Add. 1. A Bird on the Branch of an Old Cedar Tree, and Butterflies. Fan painting. Signed.

Ibid. Add. 1. A Bird on the Branch of a Hui-t'ang tree, catching an Insect. Album leaf. Imperial seal.

1 YÜAN-CHI 易元吉, 1. Ch'ing-chih 慶之.

From Ch'ang-sha, Hunan. Served as a teacher in the Confucian temple in his native city. Summoned twice in the Chih-p'ing era (1064-1067) to the capital where he executed some wall-paintings in the palace. He died while occupied in this work. Flowers, birds and particularly monkeys. F, 4. G, 18. H, 3. I, 50. L, 61. M, p. 216.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 80 (Manchu Household collect.) Monkeys Snatching Young Herons from their Nest. Fan painting. A?

Ku-kung collect. A Monkey seated on the Ground, holding a kitten in its bosom while the mother-cat is

murmuring angrily. Fine kung-pi manner and pale colours. Inscription by emperor Hui-tsung of Sung; colophons by Chao Mêng-fu and Chang Hsi. A?

Hui-hua kuan. Three Gibbons on an Old Tree Branch. Fan painting. Cf. Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 107. A?

Ômura, II, 5 (Pao Tuan-ch'ên collect.) Small White-breasted Birds Gathering in Dry Trees by a Rock. Part of a handscroll. Signed. B?

Sōraikan, II, 10 (ex. P'u Ju collect.) Monkeys Playing in Trees and on Cliffs. Section of a handscroll. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Colophon by Ch'ien Hsüan of the Yüan period. A.

Chang Ta-ch'ien collect. A She-monkey with her Baby in a Tree; a Deer with two Fawns below. Fan-shaped. A.

National Museum, Stockholm. Two Black Gibbons Playing on the Branches of a Tree with Large Leaves.

Bamboos in the background. Inscribed with the painter's name. Seals of the Sung and Ming periods. The lower part of the picture is repainted. A?

Freer Gallery (II, 272). Two Gibbons Climbing in a Tree. Inscribed with the painter's name. Painting in colour possibly of the Ming period. B?

C. T. Loo Successors, New York (ex Chang Ts'ung-yü collect.) A Monkey on a Rock Reaching up towards a Tree Branch. Ink only. Large album leaf. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. II. Three Monkeys in a Bare Tree, one catching a Heron. Album leaf. Cf. Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 80. A?

JIH-KUAN 日觀, see Wên 溫.

KAO K'Ö-MING 高克明.

From Chiang-chou, Shansi. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy from c.1008 to 1053. Friend of Yen Wên-kuei. Landscapes and figures. D, 2. F, 4. G, 11. M, p.331.

Joseph U. Seo, New York. Snow over the Mountains along the River. Extensive views over the river valley, buildings, bamboo groves and large trees on the banks. A large handscroll executed with colours on silk. Signed and dated 1035. A.

Yen Kuang Album, 1927 (Manchu Household collect.) Leafy Trees on the Shore and Flocking Birds. Fan painting. Old attribution.

EMPEROR KAO-TSUNG OF SUNG 宋高宗.

B. 1107, d. 1187. Son of the emperor Hui-tsung and the first emperor of the Southern Sung dynasty. Connoisseur of paintings. Figures, landscapes and flowers. J, 1. L, 1. M, p.611.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. II. River Landscape with a Fishing-boat. Album leaf. Poem by the emperor. B?

KOU-LUNG SHUANG 勾龍爽.

From Szechuan. *Chih-hou* in the Painting Academy during the reign of the emperor Shên-tsung (1068-1085). Figures. D, 1. F, 3. G, 4. H, 3. M, p.66.

Ku-kung collect. River Landscape with Sailing-boats. Inscription by Su Ch'ê, younger brother of Su Tung-p'o, in which the picture is ascribed to the painter.

Chung-kuo, I, 11 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) An Emperor with his Two Consorts in a garden receiving a applicant. Signed. Probably a Ming picture. C.

KUNG K'AI 龔開, t. Shêng-yü 聖予, h. Ts'ui-yen 翠巖.

From Huai-yin, Kiangsu. Active c.1260-1280. Scholar, calligraphist. Landscape after Mi Fei, figures and horses. H, 5. I, 52. L, 3. M, p.749.

Tōyō, IX (T. Namba). Hill-tops and Trees in Mist, after Mi Fei. Poem by the painter. Signed. Cf. Nanju, 16. C.

Sōraikan I, 18. A Starved Horse. Handscroll. Poems and

colophons by the painter, by Yang Wei-chêng (1296-1370), Ni Tsan, Hsiang Yüan-pien, Kao Shih-ch'i and ten more writers of the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing periods. A.

Freer Gallery (38, 1). *Chung-shan ch'u-yu t'u*. Chung K'uei, the Demon Queller, and his Sister Travelling in Sedan-chairs, followed by a retinue of devils. Poem and a colophon by the painter and also by several later men. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 2. A.

Ibid. A Man Asleep in a Boat near the Shore.

KUNG SU-JAN 宮素然

Unrecorded in biographies of painters, but according to the Abe catalogue, a Taoist nun from Chên-yang, Kueichou. Active at the beginning of the 12th century.

Sōraikan I, 14 (Abe collect. Ōsaka Museum). Chao-chün on her Way to Mongolia under the Escort of Mongol Horsemen. Handscroll. Signed. Seal of an

Inscribed with the painter's name and his seal. C. Peking National Museum Cat. Chung K'uei Moving his Residence. Handscroll. Signed. Seals of Yüan and Ming collectors. Colophons by Ch'ou Yüan (dated 1371) and by later men.

KUO HSI 郭熙, z. Shun-fu 淳夫

From Wên-hsien in Hoyang (Honan). Probably b. shortly after 1020, active c. 1060-1075. Served as *i-hsieh* in the Painting Academy. Landscapes, followed Li Ch'eng. Author of the *Lin-ch'üan kao-chih chi* 林泉高致集. F, 4. G, 11. H, 3. M, p. 397.

K.-k., VI. Village in a Mountain Valley; Travellers on the Roads, Fishermen in a Boat. Signed. Free imitation of the eighteenth century. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhib., p. 51. B?

Ibid. X. Early Spring; Bare Trees in the Mountains, Boats by the Shore. Signed, dated 1072. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Seal of the emperor Chang-tung of the Chin dynasty. A.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XVIII. Mountain Path in Snow. Signed: Painted on the order of the emperor in 1072. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhib., p. 49. A?

Ibid. XXI. Tortuous Old Cedar-trees in front of Snowy Mountains. Possibly of the Yüan period. B?

Ibid. XXVI. A Steep Cliff, Temple Buildings and Willows in Mist by a Bay. Signature later. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhib., p. 50. B?

Ibid. XXVII. A Bay with Rocky Shores in Autumn, Old Trees and Travellers on the Shores. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

Ibid. XXX. Fantastic Hollow Mountains and Tortuous Trees by a Stream. Attributed. Probably of the Ming period. C.

Ibid. XXXIX. River Landscape with Mountains in Snow. Portion of a handscroll. Probably of the Ming period. B?

imperial commissioner of the emperor Kao-tung of Sung. Cf. Sōgen 18.

Ku-kung collect. Two Men leading Donkeys passing over a Bridge. Attributed. Signature later.

K.-k. Chou-k'an, 486. Fishing boats at the Shore; two others approaching. Fan painting. Attributed. B?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 110 (Manchu Household collect.) Pavilions under Snowy Trees on a River Shore. Album leaf. Attributed. C.

Shanghai Museum. *Ku-mu yao-shan t'u*. Between the rocks in the foreground are low buildings from which a man is coming out. A?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol. IV. View of Bare Trees and Distant Horizon. A pavilion on a small hill surrounded by shrubs and old trees; two men approaching on a mud-bridge, others are walking along the shore, or occupied in fishing-boats. Short handscroll. On separate sheets, nine colophons written by Chao Mêng-fu, Yü Chi, K'o Chiu-ssü, Liu Kuan, and others. A.

Nanshū Ithatsu, II. Crows in Bare Trees by a Stream. Short handscroll. Painter's name added. B?

Tōsō, p. 37 (Kuo Tsung-hsi collect.) High Mountains and Waterfall; a Boat on the Stream below the Bridge. Probably a Ming picture. B?

Ibid. p. 38 (Hsü Shih-ch'ang collect.) Old Cedar-trees on Cliffs. B.

Hokuga Shinden (Hayashi collect.) Towering Mountains over a Stream. Pine-trees on the rocks, a pavilion built over the water. B.

Yurintaikan, II. Mountain Landscape; Travellers in a Rest-house by a Bridge. Handscroll. Annotations by Ho Ching-ming, dated 1517, and by Chang Yüeh. B?

Freer Gallery. Autumn in the Valley of the Yellow River. Portion of a handscroll. Ink on silk. Attributed. Cf. Kokka 250. A.

Toledo Museum of Art. River Scenery with Bare Trees and Craggy Mountains in Snow. A long handscroll, probably of the Ming period. Cf. London Exhib. Cat. 1139. C.

Illustrated Catalogue of the P'ang Yüan-chi collect. (1940), vol. IV. Travellers in Autumn Mountains.

Inscribed with the painter's name and probably after his design, but the date of the picture cannot be decided from the reproduction.

Peking National Museum Cat. A Mountain Path and Bare Trees in Shu. Ink and colour. Signed. Colophons by Têng Wên-yüan, dated 1317, and by Shên Chou and others.

Ibid. Mountains at Dawn with Travellers. Attributed. Handscroll. Colophons by Ch'ou Yüan (b. 1261), Chou Mi (1232-1308), Ni Tsan and Wu K'uan.

Ibid. Reading the Stone Tablet, after Li Ch'êng. Attributed.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. The Chung-nan Mountain in Snow. Inscribed with the painter's name.

Ibid. Add. 1. The Seven Sages at the T'ung-kuan Pass. Inscribed with the painter's name.

Kuo Ssü 郭思, c. Tê-chih 得之.

Son of Kuo Hsi. Became a *chin-shih* in 1082; entered the Academy of Painting c. 1100. Painted horses in imitation of Han Kan. Edited his father's treatise on landscape painting. G. 11 (under Kuo Hsi). I, 51. L, 60. M, p. 397.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XLII. A Boy in Princely Costume with a Goat under a Plum-tree. Signed. C.

LI AN-CHUNG 李安忠.

Member of the Academy of Painting both in K'aifêng and in Hangchou (c. 1117-1140). Flowers and birds, particularly quails. H, 4, J, 2. M, p. 194.

W. Hochstadter, New York. A Cottage under Trees at a Low River Shore. Possibly after Chao Ling-jang. Album leaf. Posterior inscription with the date 1117. A. Seattle Art Museum. An Eagle Chasing a Pheasant. Album leaf. Signed and dated 1129. Cf. Kokka 36. A.

Ku-kung collect. Two Quails, one white and one brown, among Chrysanthemums and Thorny Shrubs. Kung-pi painting on silk. A?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 44 (Manchu Household collect.) Four Sparrows Picking Grains on the Stalks of a Plant. Fan painting. A?

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol. 1, 9. Two Quails and Flowering Autumn Plants. Fan painting.

Ibid. vol. 6, 130. A Bird on a Branch. Fan painting.

Kokka 54 (Prince Konoye). Four Quails by a Stream. Handscroll.

Ibid. 296. (Marquis Inouye) Two Quails. Album leaf. Seal of the painter.

Hikkōen (formerly Kuroda). Two Quails and Plants. Sōgen Meigashū, 4 and 18 (Nezu collect.) A Quail Standing by a Shrub. Fan painting. Cf. Toso, p. 71; London Exhibition Cat. 970. A.

Ibid. 17 (Magoshi collect.) A Quail Pecking on the Ground. Fan painting. A.

Bijutsu Kenkyū 146 (formerly Moriya collect.) Two Quails with Chickens. Album leaf. Signed. B?

British Museum (Eumorfopoulos collect.) Dog and Hawks Pursuing a Hare. Album leaf. Cf. London Exhibition Cat. 948. A?

Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) Two Sparrows on Stalks of Millet. Fan painting. A?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. A Quail Pecking on the Ground. Square album leaf. Signed.

LI CH'ENG 李成, i. Hsien-hsi 咸熙.

From Ying-ch'iu, Shantung. Passed his *chin shih* degree, but devoted himself entirely to artistic pursuits. Active c.960-990. Landscapes. D, 2. F, 3. G, 11. H, 3. I, 50. M, p.188.

Chung-kuo, I, 21 (Ti P'ing-tzu collect.) Trees and Pavilions by an Inlet of Water. Album leaf. Attributed. Poem by Hsien-yü Shu (1257-1302). B? Cf. Nanga Taisei, XI, 3.

Yen Kuang album, 1927 (Manchu Household collect.) River Landscape with Two Fishing-boats. Fan painting. B?

Palace Museum album, 1932. Bare Trees by a Snowy Cliff. Attributed. The accompanying writing by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.100. B.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XIX. Clearing after Snow on the Mountains by a Stream: *Ch'ün-j'ing chi-hsüeh t'u*. Colophon by Kao Shih-ch'i. B?

Ibid. XXII. Old Pine-trees on a Low Shore in Water. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. A later imitation. B?

Ibid. XXVII. A High Mountain Pass with Travellers over a Stream in Autumn. Inscription of the Ming period. C.

Ibid. XXXI. Old Pine-trees on Snowy Rocks; a Fisherman in a Boat. Attributed to the master in two colophons of the Ming period. B?

Ibid. XXXVII. Old Cedar Trees by a Swirling Stream. The painter's name inscribed by Wang To. Probably a good Ming version of the master's design.

Sōraikan, I, 8 (Abe collect.) Reading the Stone Tablet. A man on a mule halting before a memorial tablet

which stands among pine-trees. Inscribed with the painter's name. Probably a full size exact copy. The figures by Wang Hsiao. Cf. Hokuga Shinden; Ōmura, II, 4. B?

Tōan 2 (Saitō collect.) High Mountains and Winding Waters on a Clear Summer Day. Long handscroll. Title and painter's name written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Colophons by several prominent painters and critics of the Ming period. B?

Tōsō, p.31 (formerly Yamamoto). Two Pine-trees by a Stream. B.

Yurinkan (Fujii collect.) Pine-trees and Snowy Mountains. Inscribed with painter's name. Handscroll. Cf. Shina Meiga Senshū, vol.II. B?

Nanga Taisei, XI, 2. Snow-covered Creviced Rocks by a River which is Spanned by a Bridge; a small homestead under the bare trees. Album leaf. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.32. Travellers on Snowy Hills by a Stream. Painter's name and title of the picture written in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Probably of the period but not in the style of the master.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Buddhist Temple on a Clear Day in the Mountains. Seals of the Sung and later periods. A?

Sung-j'en hua-ts'ê (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) High Mountains by a River; a man with an umbrella crossing a bridge. Fan-shaped. B?

LI CHI 李吉.

From K'ai-feng. Active during the Northern Sung period; served as *i-hsüeh* in the Academy of Painting. Flowers and birds, followed Huang Ch'üan. F, 4. H, 3. M, p.190.

Former National Museum, Peking. Peaches, Lichens, Apricots, Melon, Beans, and Egg-plants. Handscroll. Signed. Colophon by T'ao Tsung-i, dated 1350.

Seals of the emperor Kao-tsung of Sung and later. A late close copy.

LI CH'EN 李椿, i. Hua-kuang 化光.

From K'ai-feng. Active during the first half of the 11th century. Landscapes, flowers. H, 3. I, 50. L, 42. M, p.191.

Shimbi, XVII. (Count Daté) A Bird on the Branch of an Apricot-tree. Album leaf. Seal of the painter.

LI CHUNG-HSÜAN 李仲宣, *l.* Hsiang-hsien 象賢.

From K'ai-feng. Active probably at the end of the 11th century. A eunuch attached as *kung-feng* to the Palace service. Flowers and birds. G, 19. H, 3. M, p.192.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 48 (Manchu Household collect.)

Flowering Plants and Butterflies. Fan painting. Signed.

LI CH'ÜAN 李權.

From Ch'ü-t'ang, Chekiang. Served as *chih-hou* in the Painting Academy in Hangchow during the Hsien-ch'un era (1265-1274). Figures and landscapes, followed Liang K'ai. H, 4. J, 8. M, p.195.

Chung-kuo, I, 60 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Bare Trees on

Cliffs by a Waterfall. C?

LI CH'ÜEH 李確.

Middle of the 13th century. Member of the Sung Academy. As a painter, he followed Liang K'ai. H, 4. M, p.195.

Bijutsu Kenkyū, No. 15 (Myōshin-ji, Kyōto). Two ink-paintings, one representing Fēng-kan, the other Pu-tai. Signed. Poems by the monk Kuang-wēn (1189-1236); these two pictures are combined with a

third picture, representing Bodhidharma, into a triptych, but the last named picture is not the work of Li Ch'üeh.

LI KUNG-LIN 李公麟, *l.* Po-shih 伯時, *h.* Lung-mien chū-shih 龍眠居士.

From Shu-ch'êng, Anhui. B. c.1040, d. 1106. The most famous figure-painter of the Northern Sung period; also highly appreciated as a painter of horses and landscapes. G, 7. H, 3. I, 50. L, 42. M, p.190.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIII. A Gentleman Playing the Ch'in to his Friends on a Garden Terrace. Inscribed with the painter's name. Seals of Ch'ien-lung. Probably a Ming picture. C.

Palace Museum Scroll, 1934. Illustrations to *Chiu ko*, Songs of the Nine Spirits, by Ch'ü Yüan. Long handscroll. Signed. The text copied by Ch'ien-lung on the picture. Seals of the emperor Hui-tsung and later collectors. At the end of the scroll is a portrait of the poet Ch'ü Yüan, by Chang Jo-ai (beginning of the 18th cent.) and copies of other poems by Ch'ü Yüan. B?

Ku-kung collect. Kuō Tzū-i receiving the Homage of the Uighurs. Handscroll; ink on paper. Signed. Colophon by Han Chin dated 1367. Chou-k'ai, 481-485. A?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 27 (Manchu Household collect.) An Old Man Seated on the Ground Striking a Musical-stone. Album leaf. Signed. B?

Ibid. 103 (Manchu Household collect.) The Morning Audience at Ta-ming kung. Palace courts with figures. Fan-shaped. Possibly a late Sung picture. B?

Hui-hua kuan. A Great Number of Horses Brought out to Pasture by several Grooms. Long handscroll, painted with colours on silk. According to the inscription, executed by Li Lung-mien on imperial order, after a picture by Wei Yün of the T'ang period. A?

T'ai-ho tien, Ku-kung. Wei Mo-ch'i (Vimalakīrti) in Conversation with Wēn Shu (Mañjuśrī). They are both accompanied by a number of kneeling attendants and Guardians. A large handscroll. Executed in *pai-miao* technique, probably in the Ming period. B?

Former National Museum in Peking. *Chu-jiang t'u*. Dancing and Frolicking People. Handscroll. Ink on paper. Colophons by Sung writers; one dated 1265. Seals of the Shao-hsing period (1094-1097) and later. A.

Ibid. *Shan-chuang t'u*. Dwelling in the Mountains. A handscroll representing men travelling on foot, on horseback and in a boat (on a river) in a mountainous country with abundant growth of trees, creviced rocks, marvellous cascades and roads winding along the precipices. The original picture is lost, but the

- design is known through copies; one was in the former so-called National Museum in Peking, another forms part of the Berenson collection in Settignano. The former, which is executed in a somewhat dry *kung pi* manner on paper, may be of the Yüan period if not later; it has colophons by Yün-wu, dated 1304, by Liu Kuan, dated 1357, and by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. The latter, which is executed with colours on fine silk in a more pictorial style, is probably the work of an early Ming painter. Only ten of the originally sixteen scenes remain and some of them are badly worn. It has a long descriptive colophon by the noted writer and minister Wang Hsing-chien dated 1453.
- Tōyō, VIII, Pl.22 (Count S. Tokugawa). Pu-tai Falling Asleep. Cf. Shimbi, XIII. C.
- Ibid. VIII, Pls.23, 24 (Academy of Art, Tokyo). Two pictures forming a pair; each of them representing an Arhat with an accompanying figure. Possibly late Sung, but not in the manner of the master. Cf. Kokka 30, 41; Tōsō, p.44.
- Ibid. VIII, Pl.25 (formerly Kuroda). Vimalakirti Seated on the Floor of a raised Platform, attended by a servant girl. Cf. Tōsō, p.43. B.
- Tōan 6 (Saitō collect.) A Sacred Gathering in the Spirit Mountains. The monks are seen advancing on the roads, gathering in temples, seated in caves, etc. Long handscroll. Two colophons by monks. Seals of the Yüan period. An interesting design. B?
- Kokka 380 (formerly Manchu Household collect. and later Kikuchi collect., Tokyo). Five Tribute Horses, each led by a groom of foreign type. Handscroll. Colophon by Huang T'ing-chien. Poems and seals of Ch'ien-lung. Said to have perished in a fire during the last war. A.
- Freer Gallery (16, 539). Rivers and Mountains in Shu. Long handscroll. Ink on paper. Colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Kao Shih-ch'i and Ch'ien-lung. Formerly in Tuan Fang collect. Cf. Kokka 273. B.
- Ibid. (18, 13). Realms of the Immortals. Deities and Fairies in an Imaginary Landscape, also called The White Lotus Club. Ink on coated paper. Long handscroll. A?
- Ibid. (19, 123). Pavilions and Galleries along Garden Courts and Canals. Also known as "Cassia Hall and Epidendrum Palace". Ink on paper. Handscroll. Probably a picture of the Ming period. B?
- T'ieh-mei hua-kuan, Hongkong. The Literary Meeting in the Western Garden. Handscroll. B?
- C. T. Loo's Successor, New York. Metamorphoses of Various Beings according to the Hua-yen Sūtra (*Hua yen lieh hsiang t'u*). An illustrative scroll in *pai-miao* technique on paper. The first portion of it may be of the period, while the latter portion seems to be by a later hand. B?
- Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, Washington (formerly P'ang Yüan-chi collect.) A Priest Seated on a Stone under a Pine-tree writing on a Scroll. Two servants are bringing pots of wine. Inscribed with painter's signature. Three poems by Ch'ien-lung and numerous seals of Ming and Ch'ing collectors. A late copy. B?
- Ibid. Lao-tzū Delivering the Tao-tê ching. Short handscroll. Inscribed with signature and the date 1080. Cf. *Chinese Painting as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-mien* by Agnes E. Meyer (1923), Pl.XV. This book furthermore contains illustrations of some album leaves representing Arhats and other figures which seem to be derived from designs by Li Lung-mien.
- Sir Percival David collect. A Taoist Deity Riding on a Unicorn. Attributed. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.813. C.
- A. Stoclet collect., Brussels. An Arhat in a Forest and Two Deers. Album leaf. This figure appears also in Ch'iu Ying's picture of the Eighteen Arhats after Li Lung-mien, which was in the P'ang Yüan-chi collect. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.1036. B?
- Peking National Museum Cat. Barbarian Chieftains Worshipping Buddha. Handscroll. Signed. Colophons by Chao Yung, dated 1343, and by other prominent writers of the Yüan and Ming periods.
- Ibid. The Eighteen Arhats Crossing the Sea to pay Homage to Kuanyin. Signed and dated 1080. Seals of Chao Meng-fu and later men. Colophon by Sung Wu (1260-1340).
- Ibid. The Seven Buddhas. A handscroll made up of seven album leaves. Seal of the painter on each.
- Ibid. Kuanyin and the Eighteen Arhats. Album-leaf. Seal of the painter. Long eulogy by Su Shih, copied by Wên Cheng-ming at 82. (1551).
- P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. A Man in a Root-shaped Boat Floating on the Water. Fan-shaped. Attributed.
- Ibid. Add.1. The Sixteen Arhats. Fan-shaped. Attributed.

LI SHAN 李山.

From P'ing-yang, Shansi. A subject of the Chin state. Active at the beginning of the 13th century. Landscapes. I, 52. M, p.196.

Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, Washington. Pines and Firs in Wind and Snow. A small handscroll. Signed. Described in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*, vol.4, in the Catalogue of the P'ang Yüan-chü collect. and in *Chinese Painting* by John C. Ferguson, 1927, p.137, but not seen by the compiler.

Freer Gallery (16, 552). A Mountain Stream between Rocky Banks; tall pine-trees in the foreground. Old attribution. B?

LI SUNG 李嵩.

From Hangchow. Started life as a carpenter but was adopted by the painter Li Ts'ung-hsün. Became *tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting c.1190-1230. Followed Liu Sung-nien and Chao Po-chü. Famous for his boundary paintings but painted also figure compositions. H, 4, J, 5. M, p.194.

I-shu ch'üan-t'ung, VII, 8-9. Knick-knack Peddler. Short handscroll. Signed and dated 1211. Colophon by Ch'ien-lung. A.

K.-k., XII. Immortals Calculating the Fortunes of Some Inquirers. Figures in a pavilion. B?

Ibid. XXXVII (now in Hui-hua kuan). Two Boats Passing Dangerous Rapids of Swirling Water between Rocks. Album leaf. Signed. A.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XIII. A Scholar Listening to a Lady Playing the *P'i-p'a* in a Garden; three maids in attendance. Probably a Ming picture. B?

Ibid. XV. The Lantern Festival. Ladies making music in a garden; children playing with their toys. B?

Ibid. XXIV. An Arhat Seated on a Bench and Two Acolytes. Probably a Yüan painting. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.84. B?

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol.III, 60. Palace Scenery; Some Figures Burning Incense on a Terrace. Fan painting. Signed. A?

Ibid. vol.III, 61. Enjoying the Garden in a Pavilion by a Stream. Fan painting. Signed. A?

Ibid. vol.VI, 124. A Palace Overlooking a Stormy Sea. Fan painting. Signed. Two lines of poetry. A?

Shanghai Museum (ex P'ang Yüan-chü). A View over the West Lake in Hangchow. Inscriptions by Shên Chou and Ch'ien-lung. Handscroll. A.

Hikkōen, Pl.20. A Buffalo turning a Water-wheel. Album leaf. B.

Shina Meiga Senshū, vol.II. A Bull Seen through a Round Window. Inscription by a Ch'an monk of the 13th century, named Miao-sung. Part of a series of illustrations to the Ten Zen parables of the Bulls. B?

Yurintaikan, I. A Drunken Man Returning on a Buffalo from a Spring Festival. Poem by Chao Mêng-fu(?) Handscroll. B?

Freer Gallery (17, 184). Demons Fighting Serpents and fantastic Animals. A sweeping design; probably of the Yüan period. Ink on paper. Handscroll. C.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Four Men in a Boat on a Stormy Sea. Signed. Fan-painting. A.

LI T'ANG 李唐, 1. Hsi-ku 晞古.

From Ho-yang, Honan. B. in the 1050's, d. after 1130. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in K'aifeng and later Director of the Academy in Hangchow. Most prominent as a landscape-painter but did also figure compositions of a realistic kind. H, 4, J, 2. M, p.194.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXVII. Pine-trees in a Rocky Valley by a Turbulent Stream. Signed and dated 1124. Seals of the emperor Kao-tsung and Chia Ssü-tao. A.

Chung-hua Album (Ho Kuan-wu collect., Hong-kong). The Virtuous Brothers Po I and Shu Ch'i in

the Wilderness Picking Herbs. Handscroll. Ink and slight colours. Signed. A.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang (Manchu Household collect.) The Four Old Men on Shang-shan. Wooded rocks, small figures. Signed. Inscriptions attached. Album leaf. A.

- Chung-kuo, I, 18. After the Rain. Fishing Nets drying on the Shore attached to some large trees. Probably a Ming picture. C.
- Ibid. (former National Museum, Peking). The Village Doctor. Ink and slight colours on silk. Old attribution, but not in the manner of the master.
- Palace Museum Scroll, 1936. High Mountains and Tall Trees along a River. Sailing Boats on the Water. Handscroll. Two colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, dated 1613 and 1623, and two poems by Ch'ien-lung. A.
- K.-k. Shu-hua chi, I. Storm over Snow-covered Mountains by a River. Possibly of the Yüan period. B?
- Ibid. XXIV. Temple Buildings and a Pagoda in the Mountains Surrounded by Floating Mist. Fragment of a larger picture. B.
- Ibid. XXVI. A Herd-boy on a Buffalo-cow followed by its Calf. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.68, C.
- K.-k. chou-k'an, 505, 506. Landscapes of the Four Seasons. Short handscrolls mounted as an album. Attributed to the master in a colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. B?
- Ku-kung collect. Clear Stream and a Hermit Fisherman fishing among the Reeds by the Shore. A colophon by Chao Meng-chien is dated 1237. A?
- S.C.T.K. Hsü-pien IX. A Sailing Boat Passing a Rocky Shore with large leafy trees. Album leaf. B?
- Hui-hua kuan. The Long River in Summer. A dense composition of rocky mountains with trees and temple buildings. Signed. Long handscroll painted with ink and greenish colour; much worn. A.
- Chung-hua wên-wu chi-ch'êng, vol.IV, p.324. River-view in Snow. Colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang who attributes the picture to the master. C?
- Tōyō, VIII, Pls.6, 7 (Koto-in, Daitokuji). Two pictures forming a pair: 1. Mountain Landscape, with a Winding Stream and Knotty Old Pine-trees. 2. Mountain Landscape with Two Men Looking at a Steep Waterfall. Formerly attributed to Wu Tao-tzū. The latter is signed by Li T'ang. Cf. Bijutsu Kenkyū, 1951. A.
- Kokka 261 (Lo Chên-yū; now Ueno collect.) The Villager's Wedding Procession. Handscroll. Ink and colours. Signed. Probably of the Yüan period. C.
- Hikkōen, Pl.33 (formerly Kuroda). Water-buffaloes on a Beach at the Foot of High Mountains. Fan-shaped. B.
- Tōsō, p.70 (formerly Yamamoto). A Scholar's Garden at the Foot of High Mountains. Two men are playing chess, a third approaches with his *ch'in*. Probably a Ming picture. Inscription by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Cf. Hokuga Shinden, 7. C.
- Hokuga Shinden (Ogawa collect.) The Road to Shu. A Mountain Path along Steep Terraced Cliffs. Figures on the bridge leading over a turbulent stream. Cf. Chung-kuo, I, 38. Probably a Ming picture. C.
- Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl.57. Man on a Water-buffalo Returning from a Village Feast in Spring. Album leaf. An old attribution. Cf. Kokka 255. A?
- Ibid. Pl.70. Two Boys Herding Two Water-buffaloes under Willows. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Kao Lien, an author of the 16th century, attributes the picture to Chang Fu of the T'ang period. Possibly a modified version of an earlier picture.
- Private Chinese collect., New York. Six pictures illustrating episodes from the history of Wên, Duke of Chin (at the end of the Chou period). The compositions consist of large trees and buildings beside figures and horses. The text between the pictures, which are mounted on a handscroll, is attributed to the emperor Kao-tsung. Ink and colours. Traditional attribution. A?
- Peking National Museum Cat. A Boat Returning in Wind and Rain. Colophons by Chêng Yüan-yü of the 14th century, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'ien-lung. Cf. S.C.T.K. Hsü-pien, IX.
- P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Tending Buffaloes. Fan painting. Attributed.
- Ibid. 11. Men Conversing in a Hall. Album leaf. Attributed.
- Ibid. 11. Collecting Flowers. Fan painting. Attributed.

Li Ti 李迪.

From Ho-yang, Honan. B. c.1100, d. after 1197. A member of the Painting Academy in K'ai-fêng and later Vice-director of the Academy in Hangchow. Famous for his flowers, bamboos, birds and dogs, but painted also landscapes. H, 3. I, 51. J, 2. M, p.194.

K.-k., XV. Two Herd-boys on Buffaloes Returning Home through a Rain-storm. Signed and dated 1174. Inscription by the emperor Li-tsung. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.67. A?

Sōraikan, II, 20; (6). Cat with a Dragonfly. Colour on silk. Album leaf. Signature dated 1193 and the painter's seal. Probably later.

Sung Li Tī shan-shui ts'è (Shanghai, 1915). An album of eight pictures: Studies of whirling waters, cliffs, clouds and trees. Last picture signed and dated 1196(?) A?

Hui-hua kuan. A Large Dog Walking with Lowered Head. Album leaf. Signed and dated 1197. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. A.

National Museum, Tokyo (formerly Fukuoka collect.) A White and a Red Hibiscus Flower. Two album leaves. Signed and dated 1197. Cf. Kokka 26 and 134; Sōgen Meigashū 3, 14 and 15. A.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXXI. A Pigeon among some Flowering Plants at the Foot of a Tree, and Two Smaller Birds. Ink and colours, probably after an earlier design. Signature and seal of the painter. A?

Ku-kung collect. Rainstorm over Splashing Waves. Attributed to the painter, but not signed. Large album leaf. Seals of Liang Ch'ing-piao.

Chung-kuo, I, 81 (Tī P'ing-tzū collect.) Five Wild Geese and some Reeds on the shore. Signed. Ink and colour. A?

Hui-hua kuan. Two Chickens. Colour on silk. Album leaf. Signed. A.

Ibid. Su Wu Guarding Sheep. Fan-shaped. Colour on silk. B?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol. IV. Two Pheasants on a Tree Branch in Snow. Fan painting.

Yamato Bunka-kan, Ōsaka (formerly Masuda collect.) Hunters Returning through the Snow. One rides on a buffalo and carries a pheasant on a stick; the other is walking in front of the buffalo and carries a rabbit on a pole. Two album leaves. One is signed by the artist, whereas the signature on the other may be of later date. Cf. Tōyō, VIII; Kokka 71 and 180; Shimbi, VIII, etc. A.

Sasaki collect., Tokyo. A White Bitch and Two Puppies. Album leaf. Seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. A?

Kokka 144 (Count Tsugaru). Five Apples on a Branch. Fan-shaped. B.

Tōsō, p.61 (Chin Yün-p'êng collect.) Chickens and Finches in a Bamboo-grove. A?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl. 72. Bamboo and Rock under a long Branch of an Old Tree. Album leaf. Signed. Seals of the emperor Kao-tsung and of later collectors. A.

Formerly Henry Oppenheim collect., London. A White Heron Alighting among Reeds. Signed. Album leaf. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Illustrated Cat. (1940). A Winter Bird in a Snowy Tree. Signed and dated 1187.

P'ang Yüan-chi Catalogue. Willow Trees and Terraces. Album leaf.

Ibid. 11. Sparrows, Plum-trees and Bamboos in Winter. Fan-shaped.

Ibid. Add. 1. A Mynah Bird in a Bare Tree. Fan-shaped.

LI TSUNG-CH'ENG 李宗成.

Lived in Northern Sung. Landscapes after Li Ch'êng. F. H, 3. M, p.190.

Chūgoku, I. A Man Reading at a Window of a Cottage on a Winter Night. Large album leaf. Cf. Ferguson,

Chinese Painting, p.122, where the same picture is attributed to Li T'ang.

LI TSUNG-HSÜN 李從訓.

From Hangchou. Tai-chiao in the Painting Academy both in K'ai-fêng and in Hangchou. Figures, flowers and birds. H, 4. J, 2. M, p.194.

Kwen Cat. 59, 2. Two Scholars and a Monk Seated on a Platform Playing Chess. Album leaf. Signed.

LI WEI 李瑋, *i.* Kung-chao 公昭.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. Son-in-law of the emperor Jen-tsung (1032-1063). A high official who amused himself with calligraphy and painting, but destroyed most of his works. Specialized in bamboos. G, 20. H, 3. I, 50. L, 42. M, p.190.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p.45. A Bamboo Garden with Pavilions and Figures. Signed. Formerly in the col-

lection of the emperor Kao-tsung (1107-1187) and of Liang Ch'ing-piao. Possibly later execution.

LI YEN-CHIH 李延之.

An artist in the Hsüan-ho Academy of Painting. Fish, insects, grasses and trees. G, 20. M, p.190.

Gems, I, 1. Two Perch Swimming under a Blossoming Pear Tree. Signed.

LIANG K'AI 梁楷, *h.* Fêng-tzū 風子.

From Tung-p'ing, Shantung. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in Hangchou 1201-1204. Left the Academy and devoted himself to Ch'an Buddhism. Landscapes, Buddhist and Taoist figures. H, 4. J, 5. M, p.391.

Chung-kuo, I, 55 (Manchu Household collect.) Wang Hsi-chih writing on a Fan. Signed. Several colophons of the Yüan period, one dated 1323; poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. Bukkyō Bijutsu 16, A.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXV. A Man Standing between Two Old Pines Looking at a Waterfall. Attributed to the master by Wang Tsuan of the Yüan period. C. Hui-hua kuan. A Man Sleeping Under a Pine-tree. Ink painting on silk. Album leaf. Formerly P'ang Yüan-chi collect. A?

Ibid. The Top of a Bare Willow-tree; Two Birds in Flight. Ink and slight colour on silk. Signed. Album leaf. B?

Ibid. San-kao, Three Old Scholars Under a Pine-tree. Ink on silk. Signed. Album leaf. B?

Ming-hua lin-lang (K.-k. Album). An Old Immortal in a Loose Open Gown. In *p'o-mo* manner. Signed. Inscription by Ch'ien-lung. B?

Kokka 40. Han-shan and Shih-tê: One is writing on the cliff, the other is holding a jar. Signed. B?

Ibid. 114 (Masuda collect.) A Monk Eating Pig's Head; A Monk Holding a Shrimp. Two pictures forming a pair, one is signed. Probably Japanese. C.

Ibid. 402 (Asano collect.) Two Hermits. Attributed. B? Shimbi, XIV (Count Matsudaira). An Old Drunkard. Album leaf. Signed. Cf. Kokka 145. B?

Tōyō, IX, Pl.65 (formerly Isogai collect. now Hakone Museum). Han-shan and Shih-tê. Signature by later hand. B?

Ibid. IX, Pl.66 (National Museum, Tokyo). The Poet Li Po. Signed. Cf. Shimbi, III; Tōsō, p.84; Sōgen Meigashū 25; etc. A.

Ibid. IX, Pl.68 (National Museum, Tokyo). The Sixth Ch'an Patriarch Hui-nêng Cutting a Bamboo Pole. Signed. Cf. Kokka 229; Tōsō, p.80. A. The corresponding picture which represents the Patriarch Hui-nêng Tearing up a Sūtra scroll, is a Japanese copy.

Ibid. IX, Pl.69 (Magoshi collect.) A Man Seated on a Projecting Cliff under a Pine-tree. Signed. B.

Ibid. IX, Pls.70, 71 (formerly Count Sakai). Śakyamuni Leaving his Mountain Retreat. Signed. Cf. Kokka 227. A.

Ibid. IX, Pl.72 (formerly Kuroda). A Man Reading and a Grazing Buffalo by a Tree. Handscroll. Signed. Cf. Tōsō, p.81. C.

Ibid. IX, Pl.73 (formerly Count Sakai). Three Old Trees by a Slope in Snow. Attributed. Cf. Kokka 227. A?

Ibid. IX, Pl.74 (National Museum, Tokyo). Landscape in Snow, two men on horseback approaching a pass. Signed. Cf. Kokka 220. A.

Ibid. IX, Pl.75 (Hakone Museum). A Pair of Herons Alighting on Rocks. Signed. Fan painting. Cf. Shimbi, XV, B.

Tōsō, p.82 (Prince Tokugawa). Wild Geese and some Reeds on the Shore. Album leaf. Signed. B.

Ibid. p.83 (Hayasaki collect.) A Fisherman with his Nets Returning Home in Snow. Fan painting. Signed. B.

Sōgen Meigashū 24 (Murayama collect.) Pu-tai Carrying a Sack. Signed. Cf. Kokka 152; Bijutsu Kenkyū 149. A?

Nezu collect., Tokyo. Seated Arhat. Attributed. Cf. London Exhibition. Cat. 972. C.

Sōraikan I, 17 (Abe collect.) The Sixteen Arhats. Long handscroll. Signature and seals of the painter. Colophons by Wang Wên-chin, dated 1789, and by later Korean and Japanese writers. Possibly a Ming picture. B?

H. C. Wêng, New York. *Tao-chün hsiang*. The Supreme Taoist Master Chang T'ien-shih is holding

court surrounded by attendants, while the redemption of the good and the punishment of the evil people are illustrated in a number of secondary small scenes. A short scroll executed in neat *pai-miao* manner and signed by the master. Attached to the picture is Chao Mêng-fu's copy of the Huang-t'ing sūtra and a colophon by Wang Chih-têng, dated 1568. Possibly an early work by Liang K'ai?

Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. Winter Landscape with a Dry Tree and Birds. Fan-shaped. Signed. B? P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Figures. Album leaf. Attributed.

LIANG SHIH-MIN 梁師閔 or 梁士閔, t. Hsün-tê 循德.

Native of K'ai-fêng. Active in the Hui-tsung reign; governor of Chung-chou. Started as a poet, but showed a great natural talent for painting. Specialized in flowers and bamboos, and painted also landscapes. G, 20. H, 3. M, p. 391.

Hui-hua kuan. River View in Winter. Reeds along the Snowy Bank. Mandarin Ducks in the water and on

the shore. Inscription by Hui-tsung. Pale brownish colouring on silk. Handscroll. A.

LIEN PU 廉布, t. Hsüan-chung 宣仲, h. Shê-tsê lao-nung 射澤老農.

From Shan-yang, Honan. Son-in-law of Chang Pang-ch'ang, the last prime-minister of the emperor Hui-tsung. Active at the beginning of the Southern Sung period. Landscapes, preferably with old trees and rough stones. H, 4. I, 51. M, p. 556.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXXIII. Mountains in Autumn. Signed. Album leaf. Probably a Ming picture.

National Museum, Stockholm. Autumn Landscape. Inscribed with name of the painter and the date 1131, but not executed before the Ming period. B?

Mutō Cat. 17. A Branch of Grape Vine. Handscroll. Seal of the painter. C.

LIN CH'UN 林椿.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in Hangchow c. 1174-1189. Flowers and birds; followed Chao Ch'ang. H, 4. I, 51. J, 4. M, p. 229.

K.-k., IV. Ten Magpies on a Cliff and in a Pine-tree. Signed. Cf. Chinese Cat. London Exhibition, p. 78. B?

Ibid. XXVII (Hui-hua kuan). A Bird on a Branch of a Peach-tree. Album leaf. Signed. Cf. Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 3.

Palace Museum album, 1932. A Pair of Peacocks. Fan painting. Cf. Chinese Cat. London Exhibition, p. 103. A?

K.-k. chou-k'an, vol. 1, 8. A Branch of a Blossoming *Hai-t'ang*-tree. Fan painting. A?

Ibid. vol. 6, 126. Branch of a *Li-chih*-tree with Fruits. Fan painting. Signed.

Peking National Museum Cat. Flowers and Birds of the Four Seasons. Handscroll. Signed and dated 1179. Seal of the painter.

LIN T'ING-KUEI 林庭珪, see Chou Chi-ch'ang.

LIU CHING 劉涇, *i.* Chū-chi 巨濟.

From Chien-chou, Szechuan. *Chin-shih* in 1073. Scholar, friend of Wang An-shih and Mi Fei. Bamboos. H, 3, I, 51. L, 35. M, p.657.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 12 (Manchu Household collect.)
A Crab Eating Grains from a Stalk. Signed. Seals of

Hsiang Yüan-pien and Wang Shih-chêng (1526-1590). A.

LIU Ssü-i 劉思義, *i.* Ch'ing-yen 青巖.

Tai-chao in the Painting Academy in Hangchou c.1130-1160. Specialized in landscapes in blue and green. H, 4, I, 51. J, 3. M, p.658.

Tōsō, p.73 (Nelson Gallery, Kansas City). A Man and two Boys Standing under a Pine-tree Looking at

the Rising Moon. Portion of a very large late Ming painting.

LIU SUNG-NIEN 劉松年.

From Ch'ien-t'ang. Chekiang. Entered the Painting Academy in the Shun-hsi era (1174-1189), became a *tai-chao* in the Shao-hsi period (1190-1194). Active in the reign of the emperor Ning-tsung (1195-1224). Figures, landscapes. Pupil of Chang Tun-li. H, 4, J, 4. M, p.658.

Chung-kuo, I, 57 (Ti P'ing-tzu collect.) Receiving Good Luck on the New Year's Day; A Boy Catching a Bird in a Tree. C?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 24 (Manchu Household collect.) Two Men Seated under Pine-trees by a Waterfall, one playing the *Ch'in*; and four servant-boys. Album leaf. B?

K. k., VI. A Pavilion Built over a Stream, in Snow. Fan painting. Signed and dated 1210. B?

Ibid. XVI. Two Women on a Terrace Making Silk Thread. Signed. Colophon by Wang Lo-yü of early 17th century. Cf. London Exhib., Chinese Cat., p.76. B?

Ibid. XX. Mountain Landscape with Soldiers on Horseback. Signed. Probably copy. B?

Ibid. XL. A Celestial Girl Offering Flowers to a Bodhisattva and some Monks. Short handscroll. Seal of the painter. A?

K. k., Shu-hua chi, XIX. Two Men and a Servant in a Pavilion, built over a mountain stream and shaded by a pine-tree. Signed. A.

Ibid. XXII. Two Shepherd Boys Tending Four Sheep. B.

Ibid. XXXVIII. Five Scholars on a Garden Terrace Examining Books and Writings. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.77. A?

Ibid. XLIII. An Imperial Visit to the Jade Pond of Hsiwang mu, amidst hollow cliffs and tortuous pines. B.

Ibid. XLV. An Arhat Leaning Against a Tree. Two Monkeys picking Fruits for him. Signed and dated 1207. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. A.

Ku-kung collect. The Eighteen Scholars of T'ang examining Old Books and Writings. Colour on silk. Handscroll, probably original, but now in bad condition. Seal of the painter. Colophon by Ch'ên Tê-hsin, dated 1225, and also by Tung Ch'î-ch'ang who says that Liu Sung-nien did this after a picture by Chou Wên-chü. A.

I Yüan Album (Ch'in Ming-shang collect). The Four Old Men on Shang shan. A short handscroll. Signed and followed by two colophons of the Yüan period. A?

Sung-jên hua-ts'ê (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) A Pavilion Built over the Water under a Cliff and an Overhanging Pine-tree. Fan painting. B?

Mo-ch'ao pi-chi, vol.1. Landscapes with Travellers. Handscroll. Attributed.

Hikkōen, Pl.12 (formerly Kuroda). Two Ladies by an Embroidery Table in the Garden. Fan painting. B?

Ibid. Pl.13. A Maid Offering a Fruit to her Mistress, a Boy Playing by a Marble Bowl. Fan painting. B?

Ōmura, II, 1 (Ch'ên Pao-ch'ên collect.) A Man Playing the *Ch'in* on a Promontory by a Stream. High mountains in the background. B?

- Bukkyō Bijutsu 16 (Fujii collect.) A Scholar Seated under a Pine-tree. Album leaf. B?
- Nanga Taisei, VIII, 14. A Man Resting by a Mountain Stream Shaded by two Trees. Fan-shaped. A?
- Tōsō, p.85 (Shên Jui-lin collect.) A Man Seated under a Pine-tree by a Waterfall. Album leaf. Signed. B?
- Ibid. p.86 (Ku Ho-i collect.) The Lan-t'ing Gathering. A number of men are seated along the stream composing poems while the wine cups are floated. Short handscroll. Attributed. B?
- Ibid. p.87 (formerly Yamamoto). The Mountain Road to Shu. Signed. Poem by Sung Lien dated 1369. B?
- Ibid. p.88 (Okada collect.) Lu Tung Preparing Tea. Signed. Poem signed by Chang Yü of the Yüan period. Probably copy. B?
- Ibid. p.89 (Ting Ch'eng-ju collect.) A Man in an Ox-cart, four servants walking behind with his luggage. Handscroll. Possibly his design.
- Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol.IV. A large knotty Pine-tree projecting from a Cliff over a blossoming Plum-tree and a low Pavilion. Fan painting.
- Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl.88. A Cottage by a River in Autumn. Fishing boats on the water. Fan painting. A.
- Ibid. Pl.89. Two Storks under an Overhanging Pine-tree. Fan painting. A?
- Freer Gallery (16, 97). A Visitor to a Mountain Retreat, received by the host who carries a *ch'in*. B?
- Metropolitan Museum (23,33,2). People gathered on a Terrace Invoking Rain. Fan-shaped, badly damaged. Old attribution.
- Freer Gallery (14,60-61). Scenes from the Lives of

- Famous Men. Explanatory text between the scenes. Two coloured handscrolls; one of them signed. The pictures are much worn but probably of the period. (The same illustrations are repeated with some variations in two later scrolls in the Freer Gallery.)
- British Museum (ex Eumorfopoulos). The Three Incarnations of Yüan-tzū. Short handscroll. B?
- Princeton University (Du Bois S. Morris collect.) Two Men Playing Chess under Pine Trees. Inscribed with the painter's name. Cf. London Exhibition Cat. 1115. C.
- Peking National Museum Cat. The Twenty-four Filial Sons. An album of twenty-four leaves. Last leaf bears painter's signature. Colophon by Chao Mêng-fu, seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien and later men.
- Ibid. The Eighteen Scholars Assembled in the Jade Hall. Long handscroll. Signed: *Liu Sung-nien painted (this)*. See above in Ku-kung collect.
- Ibid. Barbarian Chieftains Presenting Tribute. An album of eight leaves, now mounted in the form of a handscroll. Signed. Colophon by the painter after each picture.
- Ibid. The Thousand Ravines and Wind-swept Pine-trees. Long handscroll. Signed.
- P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. A Homestead by a Stream. Album leaf. Attributed.
- Ibid. 11. Two Men discussing the *Tao* under Pine-trees. Fan painting. Attributed.
- Ibid. 11. The Happiness of Country-life. Fan painting. Attributed.
- Ibid. Add. 1. A Man Saluting the Moon on a High Terrace, a boy standing behind. Fan painting. Attributed.

LIU TS'AI 劉棻; 1. Tao-yüan 道源 or Hung-tao 宏道.

Lived in K'ai-feng. Active in the reign of Shên-tsung (1068-1085). Specialized in fish. G, 9. H, 3. M, p.656.

- K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XII. A Fish and a Lobster. Colophon by Yao Shou of the Ming period. B?
- Hui-hua kuan. Swimming Fish and Falling Blossoms. Handscroll. Attributed. Seals of Wên P'êng of the 16th century, and Ch'ien-lung. Cf. *I-shu ch'üan-tung*, vol.VI.
- St. Louis City Art Museum. Fishes Swimming among

- Aquatic Plants and falling Leaves. Handscroll. Cf. Museum Bulletin. April 1927. Old attribution. A?
- P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. Fishes Playing among Aquatic Plants. Fan Painting. Attributed.
- Ibid. Add. 1. Swimming Fishes. Album leaf. Inscribed with the painter's name.

LIU YÜAN 劉元 or 劉原.

Unrecorded in books on painters. According to the colophon in the following picture, he was among the most famous professional painters in Northern China during the Chin and Yüan dynasties. Known also as a sculptor. Executed wall-paintings in temples.

Cincinnati Museum. The Dream of Ssü-ma Yu. Short handscroll. Signed. Long colophon by Chang Ts'ung-yü of 20th century. Cf. I-shu ch'üan-t'ung, VIII, 2.

LIU YUNG-NIEN 劉永年, i. Chün-hsi 君錫 or Kung-hsi 公錫.

From K'aifeng. Born c.1020. A relative of the imperial Sung family, became a high military officer. Figures, flowers and birds. F, 3. G, 19. H, 3. M, p.656.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XLII. Peaks of the Shang Mountain Rising over a Misty Field. Signed. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung and his seals. Cf. Chung-kuo, I, 39. B?

Ku-kung collect. Small Birds among Shrubs, White

Rabbits, Bamboos and Roses. Painted with bright colours in a refined kung-pi manner on paper. A?

Sōgen 15 (Chiu K'ai-fan collect.) A Goose among Reeds. Painter's name inscribed in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. B?

LO-CH'UANG 羅窗.

A priest who lived in the Liu-t'ung ssü by the West Lake, Hangchow, the same temple where Mu-ch'i lived. Active probably at the end of the Southern Sung period. H, 4. M, p.750.

Kokka 406 (Marquis Asano). A White Cock. Signed. Poem by the painter. Cf. Bijutsu Kenkyū 13. A. Tōyō, IX (Asabuki collect.) A Wild Goose Alighting; lotus leaves below. Poem by Chu Pên. B.

Sōgen Meigashū 60 (Koto-in, Daitokuji). A Heron Alighting; another bird standing below by some lotus plants. Cf. Shimbi, XX. A?

LOU KUAN 樓觀.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. Chih-hou in the Academy of Painting in Hangchow c.1265-1274. Followed Ma Yüan in his landscapes, but painted also flowers and birds. J, 8. M, p.625.

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol.I, 10. A Branch of Li-chih Tree with Fruits. Fan painting. B?

Kokka 84. A Hibiscus Flower. Album leaf. Signed.

Hikkōen (formerly Kuroda). Winter Landscape: High snow-covered peaks rising above an inlet of water. Fan painting. Signed. A.

Tōsō, p.104 (Tokyo National Museum). River Landscape with Two Moored Boats. Fan painting. Old attribution. A?

LU CHUNG-YÜAN 陸仲淵.

Unrecorded. Perhaps identical with Lu Hsin-chung.

Kokka 371. Three pictures from a series of the Ten Kings of Hell in Baron Morimura's collection, Tokyo. Signed.

Joshō-ji, Kyōto. An Arhat. Traditional attribution.

LU HSIN-CHUNG 陸信忠.

Unrecorded in Chinese books but mentioned in *Kundaikan Sayūchoki* (No.127). Active at the end of the Southern Sung period in Ning-po, Chekiang. Buddhist figures.

Sixteen pictures representing the Sixteen Arhats in the collect. of Shōkoku-ji, Kyōto, one of which is signed. Two of them reproduced in Kokka 255, two others in Shimbi, V; one of these also in Tōyō, IX and in Bijutsu Kenkyū 45. A.

Sixteen pictures representing the Sixteen Arhats in the Boston Museum. One signed. The tenth is a Japanese substitute. Most of them reproduced in Boston Museum, Portfolio, pp.110-124.

65. The 4th Arhat Reading a Letter.

66. The 8th Arhat Watching a Dragon Appear in the Sky.

67. The 11th Arhat Looking at Two Deer.

68. The 5th Arhat Holding a Censer.

69. The 3rd Arhat Meditating with a Dragon Coiling around him.

70. The 1st Arhat Expounding a Sutra.

71. The 14th Arhat Looking at a Lotus Pond.

72. The 13th Arhat Sitting on a Rock.

73. The 12th Arhat Accepting a Jewel.

74. The 2nd Arhat Watching Two Lions Playing.

75. The 15th Arhat Watching a Boy Grinding Ink.

76. The 6th Arhat Praying.

77. The 7th Arhat Playing with a Tiger.

78. The 16th Arhat Watching a Light Coming out of a Vase.

79. The 9th Arhat Watching Fighting Dragons.

Ten pictures representing the Ten Kings of Hell in the Hōnen-ji, Kagawa-ken. Signed. One of them in Kokka 322. A.

Ten pictures representing the Ten Kings of Hell in the Daitoku-ji, Kyōto. Attributed. Two in Kokka 175, the same in Shimbi X. One in Tōyō IX.

Bijutsu Kenkyū 45, Pl.6 (Hoju-in, Aichi-ken). Buddha in Nirvana. Signed. B.

LU SSŪ-LANG 陸四郎.

Unrecorded. Perhaps identical with Lu Hsin-chung.

Kokka 459 (Baron Fujita). An Arhat with an Incense-burner. Signed.

LU TSUNG-KUEI 魯宗貴.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in Hangchow c.1228-1233. Flowers, bamboos, birds and animals. II, 4. J. 8. M, p.631.

Shên-chou ta-kuan, vol.10. Two Geese on the Shore; a Third Descending from the Air. Fan painting. Signed. A?

Chung-kuo, I, 49 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) White Swans under Willows by a Stream in Spring. Attributed. B? K.-k. Shu-hua chü, XVII. A Pheasant and a Quail on a Rock under Blossoming Trees in Spring. Signed.

Probably of the Ming period. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.99.

Sōgen 17 (Hua Chien-ko collect.) A Mother Goose Carrying Two Goslings on her Back. Inscribed with the painter's name. Seal of the Ming emperor Yung-lo. A?

MA CHAO 馬肇.

Active at the end of the South Sung period. No other works by the painter are known.

Sōraikan II, 20; (8). Pavilion among Willows in Rain-storm. Ink on silk. Album leaf. Signed. Inscription on

the back said to be by the emperor Ning-tzung of Sung (1195-1224).

MA FÊN (Pên) 馬賁.

From Ho-chung, Shansi. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in K'aifeng c.1119-1125. The first painter of the Ma family. Buddhist figures, animals and birds. H, 3, I, 50. M, p.337.

Honolulu Academy of Arts. The Hundred Geese. Long handscroll. Inscribed with the painter's name. Possibly after his design, though not executed before the South Sung period. Seal of an imperial prince of the Yung-lo period; also seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien and later

collectors. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 64; London Exhibition Cat. 1387. B?

Peking National Museum Cat. *Mu-niu t'u*: Herding the Buffaloes. Long handscroll. Signed and dated 1095. Seal of the painter; others of Yüan and later collectors.

MA HO-CHIH 馬和之

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Chin shih* in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). Became vice-president of the Board of Works, and was still alive in the reign of Hsiao-tsung. Made illustrations to the *Mao shih* Odes, the text of the poems being copied by the emperor Kao-tsung. Landscapes and figures. H, 4, J, 3. *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang*, vol.X. M, p.337.

Ku-kung collect. Two album leaves. One represents a Bay at the Foot of Misty Mountains; fishes are seen swimming in the water and a heron soaring in the air. The other picture represents a Falcon in an Old Tree by a Rock. Both pictures are executed in a very refined kung-pi manner, and are signed by the painter. A.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VIII. The Busy Loafer. He sits under a tree twisting a thread. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.75. C.

Ibid. XXVII. A House-boat under a Willow-tree. Signed. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.74. B?

Former National Museum, Peking. A Man with a Stick walking under a Wind-swept Tree. Signature and seal of the painter. B?

Hui-hua kuan. The Red Cliff. Illustration to Su Tung-p'o's prose-poem. Four men in a long boat passing a small cliff at the head of the picture; the rest of the composition is open water. Short handscroll. Cf. *I-shu ch'üan-t'ung*, vol.VII. A.

Ibid. Illustrations to *Seven Odes of Pin* in the *Kuo-feng* section of *Shih-ching*. Slightly coloured ink-paintings on silk mounted as a scroll; the text between the scenes is written in *hsiao-k'ai* style, possibly by the emperor Kao-tsung. A.

Photographs by Yen Kuang Co., Peking. Illustrations to *Ten Odes of Ch'ên* in the *Kuo-feng* section of *Shih-ching* (formerly in the Manchu Household collect.) Ink only on paper(?) The execution of the paintings and the writing are not of the Sung period. B?

Yurinkan (Fujii collect.) Illustrations to *Twelve Odes of T'ang* in the *Ta-ya* section of *Shih-ching*. Ink and slight colour on silk. The text written in *hsiao-k'ai*. The pictures are much damaged but of good quality. Two in Yurintakan, one in Tōsō, p.63. A.

C. T. Loo and Co., Successors, New York (1954). Illustrations to *Seven Odes of Pin*. The paintings are the same as in the above-mentioned scroll in Hui-hua kuan. Ink on silk. B?

Ibid. Illustrations to *Ten Odes of Ch'ên*. The compositions are the same as in the pictures photographed by the Yen Kuang Co., but of smaller size and more carefully done. Writing in *hsiao-k'ai* style. Seals of Ch'ien-lung.

Chiang Ku-sun, Taipei. Illustrations to *Six Odes* in the *Hsiao-ya* section of *Shih-ching*. The paintings are partly damaged and repaired, but probably originals. The writings inserted between the pictures are attributed to the emperor Kao-tsung, but apparently of later date. A?

Ueno collect. (Hakubundō Scroll-reproduction). Illustrations to *Twelve Odes of T'ang* in the *Kuo-feng* section of *Shih-ching*. Ink only on paper; broad and light brush-work. Writing in large *k'ai-shu*. Several seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien. Late imitation. B?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 91 (Manchu Household collect.) Four Officials on Horseback, escorted by men on foot. Album leaf. C.

Tōsō, p.65 (Hayasaki collect.) A Butterfly and a Cicada in a Willow Tree. Fan-shaped. B.

Ibid. p.66: Two Boats Moored below a City wall. The picture is accompanied by a leaf with two lines of poetry written by Yang Mei-tzu. Cf. Kokka 537. B.

Ibid. p.67 (Lu Hsiang-yeh collect.) Spirits of the Sea Paying Homage to Kuanyin, who sits on a Cliff by the Water. After an archaic design. C.

Sōraikan, II, 20. Two Deer by a Waterfall. Ink and slight colour on silk. Fan-shaped album leaf. Cf. Kokka 570. B.

Boston Museum. Illustrations to Six (originally Ten) of

the so-called *Odes of P'ei* of the *Hsiao-ya* section. Ink and slight colour on silk. The accompanying text written in *hsiao-kai* possibly by the emperor Kao-tsung. Of the same series as the best of the above-mentioned handscrolls. A.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. A Man Playing the *Ch'in* to his Friend. Fan-shaped.

Ibid. Add. 1. A Herb-collector in the Woods. Fan-shaped. Signed.

MA HSING-TSU 馬興祖.

Son of Ma Fên. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in Hangchou in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). Acted as adviser to the emperor Kao-tsung. J, 3. M, p.337.

I-shu ch'uan-t'ung, VII, 2. A Small Bird on the Stalk of Lotus Plant and a Dragonfly. Album leaf. A?

Hikkōen (formerly Kuroda), The Waves. Fan painting. Old attribution.

Kawasaki Cat. 16. A pair of handscrolls illustrating Liu Pei's Visit to Chu-ko Liang. C.

MA K'UEI 馬逵.

Son of Ma Shih-jung. Active c. 1180-1220. Landscapes, figures, flowers and birds. J, 6. M, p.338.

K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol. 1, 11. Peony Plant and a Butterfly. Fan painting. B.

Ibid. 484. A Water-mill under Willow-trees. Album leaf. Attributed. B?

Shimbi, IX (Count Tokugawa). A Man Playing the *Ch'in* under a Pine-tree by the River. Cf. Kokka 196. B?

Ibid. IX (Count Tokugawa). A Man on a Promontory Looking at the Plum-trees. Forming a pair with the preceding picture.

Kokka 236 (Chishaku-in, Kyōto). High Peaks Rising over a Stream; large trees in the foreground. Probably a Yüan picture. Cf. Shimbi, XV. B?

Shimbi, XIII (Baron Iwasaki). Lin P'u Admiring Plum-blossoms. Cf. Tōyō, VIII. B?

Hikkōen, p. 59 (formerly Kuroda). Mountain Landscape with Three Figure Scenes, apparently illustrating successive events in a tale. A?

Tōyō, VIII (K. Magoshi). A Man and a Boy in a Boat on an Evening Lake. Fan painting. Cf. Tōsō, p. 91. A?

Hikkōen, p. 10 (formerly Kuroda). Sharply Silhouetted Mountains Rising above a River. On the bank in the foreground, a clump of leafy trees bending over a pavilion. Section of a handscroll. Attributed. B?

Ars Asiatica, IX, p. 21 (Martin White collect.) Misty Morning. Travellers Wading a Mountain Stream. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p. 91. Temple Buildings near the Sea Shore; a man approaching. Fan painting. B.

Sokenan Kansho II, 53 (Matsumoto collect.) Three Men in a Boat on a River under Willows. C.

MA KUNG-HSIEN 馬公顯.

Son of Ma Hsing-tsu. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). Landscapes, figures, flowers and birds. J, 3. M, p.338.

Kokka 221 (Nanzen-ji, Kyōto). The Hermit Yao-shan Talking to Li Ao on a Terrace under a Pine-tree. Ink

and slight colours. Signed. Cf. Shimbi, 1; Tōyō, VIII; Tōsō 90; etc.

MA LIN 馬麟.

Son of Ma Yüan. Active about the middle of the 13th century. *Chih-hou* in the Academy of Painting. Landscapes, flowers and birds. Followed the family tradition. J, 8. M, p.338.

K.-k. chou-k'an, vols.II-III, 48-55. Eight Flower Studies on album leaves. Signed. Two of the leaves dated 1276. A?

Ibid. vol.V, 105-109. Portraits of Emperors Fu-hsi, Yao, Yü, T'ang, Wu-wang of Chou. Possibly copies. The portrait of Fu-hsi also in Li Tai, III.

Ibid. vol.VI, 125. A Garden Pavilion and Blossoming Trees. Fan painting. Signed. A?

Shên-chou ta-kuan, I. Plum-tree and a Rabbit in Snow. Attributed. B?

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VIII. A Traveller on Muleback Passing through a Mountain Gorge. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. A?

Ibid. XI. Three Quails under a Blossoming Plum-tree in Snow. Signed. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.98. B?

Ibid. XXXVI. Listening to the Wind in the Pine-trees. Signed. Inscription by the emperor Li-tsung and his seal, dated 1246. A?

Hui-hua kuan. Two Branches of a Blossoming Plum-tree. Signed. Poem by Yang Mei-tzû, sister of the empress of Ning-tsung. Cf. K.-k. Shu-hua chi, IX. A.

Palace Museum Album, 1932. Branches of Plum-blossoms and Bamboo. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.102. A.

K.-k. chou-k'an, 491. An Orchid Plant. Fan painting probably cut from a larger composition. Attributed. A?

Ku-kung collect. Two Birds on the Branch of a Thorny Shrub in front of a Trunk in Snow. Signed by the painter. Inscription by Yang Mei-tzû. Probably central portion of a larger picture. Part of an album called *Ming-hua chi-chên*. A.

Ibid. Fragrant Spring after Rain; old trees by a mountain brook. Ink painting. Signed. A.

Ibid. Rocky Mountains in Mist. Ink painting in a scratchy manner. A?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang. A Man seated on a Projecting Cliff contemplating the View between the Cliffs. Fan-shaped. Signed. Inscription by Yang Mei-tzû. A.

Kokka 25. The Waves and the Moon. Fan painting. Probably a Yüan painting.

Ibid. 116 (Myōshin-ji, Kyōto). Samantabhadra in the Shape of an Old Man Seated on an Elephant. Probably of the Yüan period. Cf. Shimbi, VII; Tōyō, VIII.

Ibid. 162 (Hakone Museum, formerly Kuroda). A Fisherman Seated under a Shed by a River in Winter. Probably a Korean painting. Cf. Bijutsu, XIV; Bukkyō Bijutsu 16; Tōsō, p.95.

Ibid. 217 (Baron Yamamoto). Two Sparrows in a Blossoming Plum-tree. Album leaf. A?

Shimbi, XI (Iwasaki collect.) Two pictures forming a pair. One represents a Man on a Garden Terrace under Tall Pine-trees, looking at the Autumn Moon; the other a Man in a Pavilion by a Stream, looking at Plum-trees in Bloom, i.e. the harbingers of spring. Not of the Sung period.

Yurintaikan (Fujii collect.) A Rustic Homestead at the foot of a steep cliff; drunken men are fighting and brought home. Signed. A?

Hikkōen (formerly Kuroda). Lin P'u Standing on a Terrace Looking at a Crane. Fan painting. B?

Tōsō, p.89 (Fang Jo collect.) A Plum-tree Bending over a Stream in Moonlight. Handscroll. Signed. B?

Ibid. p.94 (Suenobu collect.) Han-shan and Shih-tê. Poem by the priest Ching-shan. B.

Sōgen Meigashū 23 (Nezū collect.) Evening Landscape. Swallows Soaring over a Bay. Signed. Two lines of a poem written by the emperor Li-tsung and his seal; dated 1254. Cf. Kokka 677. A.

J. Nakamura collect., Tokyo. Two small pictures representing Hotei Standing under Willow-trees happily singing, and Hotei meeting a Scholar under some Bamboo. The latter picture is signed.

Ibid. Spring Morning. Sharply-cut rocks along a misty river, an old plum-tree and ducks in the water. Signed.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl.98. A Nobleman on a Stag Viewing Autumn Foliage by a Lake. Album leaf. Signed. A.

Ibid. Pl.99. Ling-chao Nü Standing in the Snow. Album leaf. Seal of the painter. A.

Ibid. Pl.100. Two Birds Sleeping on a Maple Branch. Album leaf. Signed. A.

Ibid. Pl. 101 (14, 59). Evening Mist over a Bay. Two men walking along the shore. Fan painting. A?
Metropolitan Museum. The Mountain Pine. Album leaf. Signed with painter's name. A?
Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. A High Cliff

Projecting over a Stream. Buildings on the opposite shore. Fan painting. B.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 7. Two Sparrows in a Blossoming Plum-tree in Snow. Signed. Colophon by Wang To.
Ibid. 11. A Peacock and Small Birds. Album leaf. Signed.

MA SHIH-JUNG 馬世榮.

Son of Ma Hsing-tsu. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). Landscapes, figures, flowers and birds. J, 3. M, p. 338.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Landscape with High Pavilions.
Fan painting. Attributed.

MA YÜAN 馬遠, t. Ch'in-shan 欽山.

From Ho-chung, Shansi. Son of Ma Shih-jung. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in the Shao-hsi era (1190-1194), still active at the beginning of the emperor Li-tsung's reign (1225-1264). Continued the family tradition and was strongly influenced by Li T'ang. Main representative of the so-called Ma-Hsia School. J, 7. M, p. 338.

Ku-kung collect. A Man Returning over a Snow-covered Field. He carries a pheasant on a pole over the shoulder and drives two pack-mules in front of him. Ink painting. Fully signed. Large album-leaf forming part of the so-called *Ming-hua chi-chên*. A.

Ibid. A Philosopher seated under the Far-extending Branch of a Pine-tree; a small boy is standing nearby. A stream is winding at the foot of the tree. Central portion of a large picture. Part of the same album as the preceding picture.

Ibid. Spring Time in the Mountains. A scholar standing under a bare willow, accompanied by a servant with his *ch'in*. Album leaf. Signed. Poem by Yang Mei-tzu. Cf. Nanking Exhib. Cat. 389. A?

Shên Chou 11. A Man on a Terrace Contemplating a Pond. Album leaf. Signed. B.

Chung-kuo, I, 50 (Manchu Household collect.) Two Monks Playing Chess in a Bamboo Grove, a visitor approaching. Short handscroll. The motif is described in a poem on the picture. Signed. A?

Ibid. I, 51 (Ti P'ing-tzu collect.) A Man Seated in Contemplation under a Pine-tree. Album leaf. B?

Ibid. I, 52 (Ti P'ing-tzu collect.) Portrait of Confucius. Album leaf. Signed. B?

Chung-kuo *ming-hua*, XII (P'ang Yüan-chi collect.) Asking the Way. A Man approaching a terrace with a tall pine-tree, speaking to another man. The moon in the sky. A large album leaf. B?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 2 (Manchu Household collect.) A Man Seated under a Pine-tree by a Stream, attended by a boy. Fan-shaped. B?

Ibid. 97 (Manchu Household collect.) Early Spring. Bare Willows by a Stream. A man with his servant approaching the bridge. Signed. Fan-shaped. A later free version of a picture in Boston. B?

Yen Kuang album, 1927 (Manchu Household collect.) Wild Geese over the Peaks in Autumn. Fan-shaped. B?

Ibid. (Manchu Household collect.) Pine-trees in the Wind on a Temple Terrace by a River. Album leaf. Signed. B?

K.-k., VI. Two Men under Pine-trees on a Terrace Overlooking a Misty Valley. Handscroll. B?

Ibid. VIII. Mountains and Tall Pine-trees by a Cottage in Snow. Signed. A?

Ibid. XI. An Old Hermit Asleep in a Boat in Autumn. Seal of the painter. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p. 86. C.

Ibid. XXIV. An Immortal on a Dragon Descending through Clouds and Mist. Signed. B.

Ibid. XXXI. A Poet Seated under Tall Pine-trees Contemplating the Moon. Signed. B?

K.-k., Shu-hua chi, III. A Feast of Lanterns. Two illuminated halls on a terrace below high mountains on a misty night. Signed. Poem describing the scene. Colophon by Ch'ien-lung. A? Another somewhat

- different version of the same design in K.-k., XIX and in the Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.123. B?
- Ibid. IX. Three Herons on the Rocks by a River in Winter. Signed. A?
- Ibid. XIX. Looking at the Moon. A man seated under leafy trees on a cliff projecting over a gully. Probably a Ming picture. Cf. Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.85. B?
- Ibid. XXVIII. A Man on a Projecting Cliff Drinking Wine in the Moonlit Night. Probably a Ming picture. B?
- Ibid. XXXII. River Landscape in Snow; two Men in a Pavilion under Tall Pine-trees. Signed. A late imitation. B?
- Ibid. XLI. An Old Pear-tree Projecting from a Rock. B?
- K.-k. chou-k'an, Special Number, Oct.10, 1930. Twenty Views of Billowing Water in Rivers and Lakes; the first one is called The Red Cliff and the others are called Autumn Moon on Lake Tung-t'ing, etc. Long handscroll. Traditionally attributed to the painters. The last picture, in which "Li T'ai-po goes to Heaven on a Fish", has an inscription (partly destroyed), dated the eleventh year of Shao-hsing (1141), i.e. long before Ma Yüan's activity. C.
- Ibid., 482. A man crossing a bridge; behind him, a house with two figures in an upstairs window. Album leaf. B?
- Hui-hua kuan, *Ta ko t'u*. Peasants Singing as they Return from Their Work. The road is winding at the foot of sharp-cut pointed rocks. Signed. The figures possibly by the master, but the landscape may be by an assistant. Ink on silk. B.
- Ibid. Ducks on the Water below a Blossoming Tree which grows out from high Rocks. Signed. Ink and colour on silk. Album leaf. A.
- Gems, I, 3. The Three Old Men on the Mountainside. Attributed. B?
- Ibid. II, 4. Mountains Along a River in Snow and Mist; a High Temple Pavilion. Handscroll. Inscriptions by Empress Yang, wife of the emperor Ning-tung. A? National Museum, Peking (photograph). A Fairy Seated under a Cliff, Looking at the Moon. Signature and seal of the painter. C.
- Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol.IV. Looking for Plum-blossoms in a Moonlit Night. Fan-shaped. Signed. A? Wang Shih-chieh collect., Taipei. *Sung-lu fang-yu t'u*: Visiting a Friend. The man is arriving on horseback; his servant knocking on the gate of a small compound. A tall pine-tree is growing by the house. Signature of the painter on the trunk. A?
- Shimbi, XVII (National Museum, Tokyo). The Ch'an Monk Tung-shan Wading a Stream. Poem by Yang Mei-tzu, sister of the empress of Ning-tung. B. The picture belongs to the same series as the two following.
- Bijutsu Kenkyū, XLIII (Tenryūji, Kyōto). The Ch'an Monk Ch'ing-liang in Conversation with a Monk. B. The Ch'an Monk Yün-mên in Conversation with a Disciple. B. These two pictures and the preceding formed a series representing the founders of the Five Schools of Ch'an Buddhism.
- Sōgen Meigashū 22 (Baron Iwasaki). Rain over a Cluster of Trees on a Rocky Shore; a man with an umbrella on the road. Cf. Kokka 234; Shimbi, XI; Tōyō, VIII, 42; Tōsō, p.92. A?
- Ibid. 21 (National Museum, Tokyo). An Angler on a Wintry Lake. Short handscroll. Cf. Kokka 23; Shimbi, XIII; Tōyō, VIII, 45; Bijutsu Kenkyū, XXXII. A.
- Tōyō, VIII, 44 (Hakone Museum). A Moonlit Night. A Scholar Seated on a Terrace under a Projecting Pine. Cf. Kokka 160; Shimbi, VIII; Tōsō, p.93. A?
- Ibid. VIII, 43 (Viscount Tanaka). A Scholar Seated by a Stone Table under a Large Pine-tree. Cf. Kokka 202. B.
- Hikkōen (formerly Kuroda). The Poet Lin P'u Seated by a Plum-tree Looking at the Moon. Short handscroll. B.
- Tōyō, VIII, 46 (formerly Magoshi collect.) A Man on a Promontory under a Pine-tree Looking at Distant Peaks in Mist. Album leaf. Cf. Kokka 147. C.
- Sōraikan, I, PL.16 (Abe collect.) Tall Pine-trees by a Strange Cliff, a wanderer approaching. Inscribed with Ma Yüan's name, and a poem by Yang Mei-tzu. B.
- Chang Ta-ch'ien collect. A Scholar and a Boy in a Pavilion by a Lotus Pond. Signed. Album leaf. A?
- Hakone Museum (formerly in Hondenji, Okayama). Travellers Ascending to a Temple under a Mountain Edge. Signed. A?

- Yurinkan (Fujii collect.) A Garden Scene in Winter. A scholar seated in a pavilion. Signed. Album leaf. A?
- Nakamura Tomijirō collect., Tokyo. A Man and a Boy in a Boat under an old Willow by a River Shore. Mountains in the distance. No signature. A?
- Noda collect., Kyōto (Kawasaki Cat.9). Two Men Examining a Picture under a Blossoming Plum-tree. C. Mutō Cat.9. River View. A Man in a Boat. Pavilions among Bamboos on the opposite shore. Fan-shaped. Seal of the painter. B?
- Boston Museum, Portfolio, Pl.92 (1460). A Boat near a Pavilion Built over the Water by a Wooded River-bank. Steep Mountains behind. Signed. The picture is badly worn and retouched. A?
- Ibid. Pl.93 (15, 909). Winter Scene. A Man and a Boy in a Pavilion by a Stream. The tall tree in front is strewn with snow. Attributed, but probably later. B?
- Ibid. p.94 (14, 61). Early Spring. Bare Willows and Distant Mountains. Signed. Fan-shaped. Seal of Hsiang Yüan-pien. A. (The composition is repeated in a painting attributed to Ma Fên in Nanga Taisci, VIII.)
- Ibid. p.95 (14, 62). Two Sages and an Attendant under a Plum-tree. Fan-shaped. Signed. A.
- Ibid. p.96 (14, 63). Hsiao Ssü-hua Seated under a Tree Playing the *Ch'in*. The Emperor Wên-ti is approaching. Fan-shaped. Attributed. A?
- Ibid. p.97 (28, 850). A Man Viewing Clouds from a Palace Terrace. Album leaf. B.
- Boston Museum (08, 61). A Man Resting under a Projecting Branch of a Leafy Tree; Two Boys behind him. Fan-shaped. B.
- Freer Gallery (18, 5). Pavilion Built over the Water under Tall Pine-trees. A large design. B?
- Ibid. (16, 132). A Mountain Retreat under Pine-trees by a River. Old attribution. B?
- Ibid. (16, 44). Mountain Landscape. A large tree and two men on the mountain terrace above the water. B.

MAO I 毛益.

From K'un-shan, Kiangsu. Son of the painter Mao Sung. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in the Ch'ien-tao era (1165-1173). Flowers, birds and animals, especially cats and dogs. H, 4, J, 4, M, p.20.

- K.-k. Chou-k'an, vol.I, 5. Two Geese among Reeds and Flowering Plants on the River Shore. Fan-painting. Signed(?) A?
- Yamato Bunka-kan, Ōsaka (formerly Fukuoka collect.)

Ibid. (11, 169). Views of High Mountains and Tall Pines along a River. Long handscroll. Inscribed with the painter's name and the date 1192. B? (Probably copy after Hsia Kuei.)

The Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio. *Ssü Hao*, the Four Old Recluses, in the Shang Mountains at the close of the Reign of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti. Two of them are playing chess under the pine-trees, another is looking on. Handscroll. Signed. Numerous seals and forty colophons, some of the Sung period. A.

Yurintaikan, I. A Man with his Servant Looking at Peach-blossoms. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

Ars Asiatica, IX, Pl.17 (ex. Eumorfopoulos collect.) Boating on a Lake by Moonlight. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.1163. B?

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.1. Four album leaves accompanied by four inscriptions by Kao-tung mounted on a handscroll: 1. Three Women with Two Children. 2. Seven Ladies. 3. Ladies on a Terrace and a Man on Horseback. 4. Seven Ladies. Attributed. Colophon by Lu Wan, dated 1517.

Ibid. 1. Contentment of the Heart: a man seated under a tree by a stream, a boy with a *ch'in* standing behind. Handscroll. Signed. Colophon by Wang Ch'ung, dated 1527.

Ibid. 7 (Illustr. Cat.1940, II). A Man Seated at a Table in a Pavilion by a Stream. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

Ibid. 11. Landscape. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. A Man with a Staff Walking in the Mountains. Album leaf.

Ibid. 11. Listening to the Autumn. Album leaf. Signed.

Ibid. 11. Looking at the Moon among Pine-trees. Album leaf.

Ibid. Add. 1. Landscape with Old Trees. An old man seated on the ground; a boy carrying a *ch'in*, is approaching. Fan painting.

Five Dogs by a Rockery with Lilies. Album leaf. Cf. Kokka 27; Tōyō, VIII, Pl.49. B.

Ibid. Five Kittens and Hollyhocks. Album leaf. Forming a pair with the preceding picture. Cf. Kokka 69. B.

Hikkōen, p.22 (Marquis Kuroda collect.) A Musk Cat with three Kittens; Hollyhocks in a Rockery. Fan-shaped. Attributed. B.

Ibid. p.36. Cock and Hen with Chickens, Hollyhocks in a Garden Rock. Forming a pair with the preceding picture.

Tōsō, p.74 (Noda collect., Kyōto). Wild Ducks under a Flowering Tree and Peony Flowers. C.

MAO SUNG 毛松.

From K'un-shan, Kiangsu. Active in the time of the emperor Hui-tsung. Flowers and birds, famous for his pictures of monkeys. H, 4, J, 4, M, p.20.

Kokka 340 (Manju-in, Kyōto). A Monkey. Ink and colour on silk. Old attribution. Cf. Bijutsu Kenkyū, XVII. A?

MI FEI 米芾, originally Mi Fu 米黻, t. Yüan-chang 元章, h. Nan-kung 南宮, Lu-mên chü-shih 鹿門居士, Hsiang-yang man-shih 襄陽漫士, Hai-yüeh wai-shih 海嶽外史.

From Hsiang-yang, Hupch. B. 1051, d. 1107. Calligraphist, painter and writer on art; author of *Hua shih* 畫史. Served as a Secretary of the Board of Rites and Military Governor of Huai-yang (Kiangsu). Landscapes. *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang*, IX, 11, 27-30. H, 3, I, 51, L, 45, M, p.82.

Shên Chou, XX. Peaks Rising through Clouds over a Misty Valley. C.

K.-k., I. Verdant Mountains and Pine-trees Rising through the Mist. Signed. On the top of the picture is a poem by an imperial writer (possibly the emperor Kao-tsung). Ink on paper. Cf. Chung-kuo, I, 33; Chinese Cat., London Exhibition, p.52. B?

S.C.T.K. Hsü-pien, IV. A Pine-tree in front of Mountain Peaks in Mist. Probably a fragment. B?

Ex National Museum, Peking. Cloudy Mountains and Trees in Mist. Handscroll. Signature and seal of the painter. According to the colophons by Ch'ien-lung, the paper is not of the Sung period, but he says, the picture is "as beautiful as a work by Mi Fei". Seals of Yüan collectors, and of Hsiang Mo-lin and Ch'ien-lung. B? (According to the Catalogue of the Museum, there was also a hanging scroll with the same title and provided with the signature and seal of the painter.)

Nanshū Ihatsu, V (Ogawa collect., Kyōto). A Valley in Mist between Verdant Mountains. Ascribed to the painter by Ku Kuang-shū (of the Ch'ing period). Cf. Bukkyō Bijutsu 15, C.

Tōsō, p.47 (F. Nakamura, Tokyo). River Valley;

Boston Museum. A Dog. Album leaf. Attributed. Probably of the Yüan period. B?

Shimbi Shoin Shina Meigashū. A Cat with Two Kittens at the Foot of a Rockery with Flowering Plants. C.

Shina Meiga Senshū, III. A Dog. Album leaf. Attributed.

Mountains Rising through Clouds. Album leaf. Signed and dated 1102. Cf. London Exhibition Cat.918. C.

Freer Gallery (08, 171). Grassy Hills Appearing through Mist; leafy trees in successive layers below. Ink only on silk. The picture which is worn and retouched in spots, may not have been executed before the Yüan period.

Ibid. (11, 260). River Valley in the Mountains. Cottages along the shore and dry trees. Ink on paper; plushy brush-work. Inscription with the name of the painter. B?

Yale University (Ada S. Moore collection). River Landscape with Trees in Mist. Handscroll. Signed. Colophon signed Mi Fei dated 1104. Other inscriptions by the poet Yüan Hao-wên (1190-1257), dated 1225, Yang Wei-chêng (13th century), Li Shih-fêng, dated 1381, and two by later men. Cf. Kwen Cat.52. B?

Sōraikan, II, Pl.14. Cloudy Mountains; Pine-trees below. Ink on silk. A late picture, though with inscriptions signed with names of the Yüan period. C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.7. Cloudy Mountains. Sketchy Landscape. Colophon by the painter.

Mi Yu-jên 米友仁, *i.* Yüan-hui 元暉.

Known also by his boyhood name Hu-érh 虎兒. Son of Mi Fei. B. 1086, d. 1165. Vice-president of the Board of War. Landscapes, followed his father. H, 4, I, 51. L, 45. M, p. 82.

Cleveland Museum (ex-Yamamoto collect.). Trailing Mist between the Mountain Ridges along a River Shore. Handscroll. Ink and slight touches of colour on silk. Poem by the painter, dated 1130. Colophon by Wang To (17th cent.) Cf. London Exhibition Cat. 1140. The old attribution not convincing, though the picture may be of the period.

Nanshū Ihatsu, II. Cloudy Mountains. Inscribed with artist's name and date 1138. C?

Shên Chou 12. Mountains Rising through Layers of Mist. Signed and dated 1141. B?

Shên Chou Ta-kuan, 9. Mountains Rising into the Clouds. Two lines of poetry by the painter. Formerly collection of Huo Chih-p'ai. A?

Hui-hua kuan. A Long Mountain Range with Pointed Tops Rising through Circling Mist and Clouds. Long handscroll; ink on paper. The picture is worn and retouched in spots. A.

Gems, II, 2. White Clouds on the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers. Signed. Handscroll. Inscriptions on the painting by Ch'ien-lung; long colophon by the artist. Hikkōen, p. 47. An Inlet of Water, Old Trees on the Shore,

Mou I 牟益, *i.* Tê-hsin 德新 and Tê-ts'ai 德彩.

B. c. 1178, d. c. 1243. Figures. H, 4. M, p. 81.

Yen Kuang Co., Peking. Collotype (Manchu Household collect.) An Old Taoist Holding a Scroll. Seals of K'o Chiu-ssü, Hsü Lin and T'ang Yin.

Palace Museum Scroll. 1936. *Tao-i t'u*, an illustration to a poem by Hsieh Hui-lien (394-430), in which the poet describes how the ladies are preparing clothes for their husbands who are away in the war. The poem is

Mountains in the distance. Fan-shaped. A late Sung or Yüan painting, but not in the style of the master. B.

Sōraikan, II, 17 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). Rocks in Mist by a Stream. Album leaf. Inscription at the top dated 1134. Much worn. B.

Freer Gallery (35, 17). Mountains in Ch'u on a Clear Autumn Day. River landscape with cloudy hills. Handscroll. Ink on paper. Signature and seals of Mi Yu-jên and also of several prominent collectors in the South Sung, Yüan and Ming periods. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 1. For a somewhat similar scroll, see Sōgen, p. 16.

J. D. Ch'ên, Hongkong. Mountains in Clouds. B?

C. C. Wang, New York. A Mountain Ridge and Clumps of Leafy Trees appearing through light Mist. Short handscroll. Ink only on brownish paper. Colophons by Wang Shên-yü (Sung), Kuo Pi (of Yüan), and several men of the Ming period. A?

H. C. Wêng, Scarsdale. A Mountain Ridge with Peaks rising through the Mist of a River Valley. Ten colophons, but no inscription by the painter. A miniature handscroll. A?

copied by Tung Shih 董史, and the picture executed in the manner of Chou Fang. Long handscroll. According to the colophon by the artist, dated 1240, it was begun in 1238, and completed two years later. Beside the poem by Tung Shih, there are fifteen poems and colophons by connoisseurs and collectors of Ming and Ch'ing periods.

MU-CH'Ī 牧谿 or 牧溪, *hao* of the monk Fa-ch'ang 法常.

From Szechuan. Lived first in the Ching-shan temple and later in the Liu-t'ung temple near Hangchow. Born in the early part of the 13th century, still active in 1269. Pupil of the priest Wu-chun (d. 1249). Landscapes, figures, flowers, birds and animals. Most of his authentic works are in Japanese collections. H, 4, L, 64. M, p. 218. V, p. 596.

Ku-kung collect. A long handscroll representing various kinds of birds, vegetables and flowers, all carefully rendered from nature. Signed by the painter and dated 1265. Two sections of it are represented in the Nanking Exhibition Cat., p. 31. A.

Sōgen Meigashū 34 (Count Matsudaira). Returning Sails off a Distant Coast. One section of a large scroll representing the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang. Four more sections of the same scroll (all of the A class) in the following collections:

Ibid. 35 (Nezu collect.) Sunset over a Fishing Village.
Cf. Toso, p.105.

Kokka 410 (formerly Viscount Matsudaira, now Sasaki, Tokyo). Wild Geese Alighting.

Sōgen Meigashū, II (formerly Marquis Homari Maeda, now Yada collect. in Katayamazu). The Evening Bell.

Ibid. (formerly Marquis Tokugawa, then Suenobu collect.) Evening Snow on the Hills. (Destroyed in one of the air-raids on Sendai in 1945.) Also reproduced in Takagi, *Gyokkan Mokkei*, etc. and Sōgen Meigashū II.

Shimbi, V (Count Matsudaira; now Hakateyama). The Evening Bell from a Distant Temple. This is a part of the smaller scroll representing the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang. Two more sections of the same scroll (all of the A class) in the following collections: Nagoya Museum (Tokugawa collect.) The Autumn Moon.

Baron Masuda collect. The Night Rain. The two last ones are reproduced in Takagi, *op. cit.*

Kokka 481 (Viscount Akimoto). Misty River in Spring with a Ferry. Album leaf. Cf. Tōsō p.107; Bijutsu Kenkyū 26. B.

Chung-kuo, I, 35 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) The Poet Lu Yu Walking with a Staff. Seals of the painter and of the Yüan emperor Wên-tsung. C.

Kokka 87 (Ueno collect.) A Monk Reading in the Moonlight. Inscription by the monk Ching-shan, pupil of Wu-chun. B?

Tōyō, IX, 89 (Baron Masuda). The Priest Chien-tzū Playing with a Shrimp. Seal of the painter. Inscription by Yen An (c.1260). Cf. Kokka 122. A.

Sōgen Meigashū 26 (Seikadō). An Arhat in Meditation Encircled by a Snake. Seal of the painter. Cf. Kokka 233; Shimbi, X; Tōyō, IX, 87, 88; Tōsō, p.108; Bijutsu Kenkyū 28. A?

Kokka 314 (Count Datō). A Priest Sewing his Mantle. Inscription by the Monk Tung-sou. Probably a Yüan painting.

Sōgen Meigashū 28 (Suenobu collect.) Portrait of Lao-tzū. Seal of the painter. Seal of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. Destroyed in the air-raids on Sendai in 1945. Cf. Tōsō, p.109. A?

Sōraikan I, 15 (Abe collect.) Bodhidharma, head and shoulders only. Seal of the painter. Probably Japanese. Cf. Sōgen Meigashū 29. C.

Tōsō, p.114 (H. Mayeyama collect.) The Fifth Ch'an Patriarch Carrying a Hoe. Probably of the Yüan period. The poem referring to the motif signed Wu-i. B?

Sōgen Meigashū 30-33 (Daitoku-ji). A set of three pictures:

The White-robed Kuanyin.

A Monkey with her Baby on a Pine Branch.

A Crane in a Bamboo Grove.

All signed over the seal of the painter. Cf. Kokka 185, 265; Shimbi, I; Tōyō, IX, 84-86; Sōgen, Appendix 9-11. A.

Sōgen, p.25 (S. Yamaoka collect.) The White-robed Kuanyin. Old Japanese copy after the picture in Daitoku-ji.

Tōsō, pp.111-113 (formerly Kuroda). A set of three pictures: Fêng-kan with a Tiger; Sparrows on a Bamboo Branch; Sparrows on a Willow Branch. Seals of the painter. Probably old imitations. B?

Tōyō, IX, 90, 91 (Daitoku-ji). Two pictures forming a pair: one representing the Head of a Dragon; the other a Tiger. Signatures and the date 1269 are later additions. Cf. Kokka 190; Sōgen, Appendix 12, 13. Probably early Yüan. B.

Shimbi, II (Daitoku-ji). Two pictures forming a pair: one representing the Head of a Dragon; the other a Tiger. Both different from the two preceding ones. B?

Kokka 209 (Viscount Akimoto). A Dragon among Vaporous Clouds. Seal of the painter. B?

Tōsō, p.106 (Nezu collect.) A Dragon. Handscroll. C.

Kokka 268 (Marquis Tokugawa, Nagoya). A Tiger. Signed. C.

Shimbi, XI (Count Sakai). Monkeys Playing among Trees and on Rocks by a Stream. Handscroll. Seal of the painter. C.

Hikkōen, p.32. A Monkey on a Rock. Album leaf. C.

Sōgen Meigashū 27 (Count Matsudaira). A Bull-headed Shrike on the Trunk of a Pine-tree. Seal of the painter. Cf. Kokka 218; Shimbi, VII; Tōyō, IX, 92. B.

Tōyō, IX, 93 (Ōoka collect., Tokyo). A Shrike Standing on a Rock. B?

Kokka 177 (K. Hirase collect., Ōsaka). Two Pigeons on an Old Tree-trunk. B?

Tōsō, p.110 (Count Matsudaira). A Turtle-dove on a Bamboo Stalk. B?

Kokka 242 (Marquis Tokugawa, Nagoya). Swallows and a Spray of Willow. B.

Shimbi, XVII (Seikadō). Two Swallows in a Willow-tree. B?

Kokka 293 (Marquis Inouye). A Heron by a Faded Lotus Leaf. Inscription by the Monk Shūkyū (1323-1409). Probably Japanese. C.

Shimbi, XIV (Marquis Inouye). Hen, Chickens and Puppies. Handscroll. Seal of the painter. C.

Sōgen Meigashū 37 (Nezu collect.) Two Sparrows on a Bare Branch. A good picture, though not by Mu-ch'i. Cf. Bijutsu Kenkyū 22; London Exhibition Cat. 1117. B.

Kokka 486, 489 (Imperial Household). Two short handscrolls forming a pair; one representing a Radish Plant, the other a Turnip Plant. The attribution is generally not accepted. B?

Tōsō, p. 115 (H. Mayeyama collect.) A Lotus Root on a Lotus Leaf. Album leaf. B?

Bijutsu Kenkyū 26 (Hakone Museum). Two small pictures forming a pair: A Magpie; and A Kingfisher. Seals of the painter. Probably Japanese. B?

Moriya collect., Kyōto. The Ch'an Monk Hsüan-cho. Probably a Yüan painting by a close follower. B?

Mutō Cat. 3. A Turtle-dove Resting on a Leafless Branch. Probably Japanese. C.

Kokka 425 (Count N. Matsudaira, then Dan, now Noda collect., Kyōto). A set of three pictures: Wei-t'o in the Guise of a Rugged Old Man; A Monkey Resting on a Projecting Rock; A Monkey with her Baby Hanging from a Bamboo. The last picture bears the painter's seal. C.

Sōraikan II, Pl. 18. Han-shan, the Ch'an monk. Inscription by Tao Lung (c. 1245). A later picture. C. Sōgen, Appendix 14 (Ryūko-in). Chestnuts. Album leaf. Cf. Kokka 493. A?

Ibid. 15 (Ryūko-in). Persimmons. Album leaf. Cf. Kokka 493. B.

Ibid. 16 (Sōken-in). Rose-mallows in Rain. Album leaf. Cf. Sōgen Meigashū, Pl. 36. A?

The three last-mentioned pictures have formed parts of a handscroll, sometimes ascribed to Mu-ch'i.

Ostasiat. Museum, Berlin. Two pictures representing Geese and Reeds. Seal of the painter. C.

P'EI WĒN-NI 裴文睨.

From K'aifeng. Northern Sung period. Buffaloes. H, 3, M, p. 600.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add. 1. A Herd-boy and a Buffalo Crossing a Ford. Fan painting. Attributed.

PO LIANG-YÜ 白良玉.

From Ch'ien-t'ang. Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in the reign of the emperor Ning-tsung (1195-1224). Taoist and Buddhist figures. H, 4, J, 8.

Kokka 463 (Kawasaki collect.) Kuanyin. Attributed. Okazaki collect., Kyōto. Cranes among Bamboos. Fan-shaped. Attributed.

SU HAN-CH'EN 蘇漢臣.

From K'aifeng. *Tai-chao* in the Academy of Painting in the reign of the emperor Hui-tsung (1101-1125), still active at the beginning of Hsiao-tsung's reign (c. 1163). Figures, followed Liu Tsung-ku, particularly famous for his pictures of children. H, 4, J, 2, M, p. 731.

Shên Chou 12. The Itinerant Toy Pedlar. Attributed. Painted with colours on silk like all the pictures attributed to the master.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VI. A Pedlar with a Wheel-barrow

and Six Children Playing together. Attributed. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 73. B?

Ibid. VII. The Dragon-boat Festival. Five children with masks at play. A?

Ibid. XII. The Dragon-boat Festival. Twenty-five children playing along the terraces and galleries of a garden. B?

Ibid. XVI. Two Small Children in a Garden Playing with Crickets. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 72. A?

Ibid. XXXIX. Eight Children Playing with Toys and Masks in front of a Pavilion. Seal of T'ang Yin. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. A?

Ku-kung collect. Children performing the Ceremony of an Imperial Reception. They wear gold embroidered costumes. Much worn, but probably of the period.

I-shu ch'uan-t'ung vol. VII. The Hundred Children Enjoying Spring. Fan-shaped. A?

Hikkōen, Pl. 42. Small Boys Playing by a Rockery. Album leaf. Signed. A?

Tōsō, p. 72 (Nezu collect.) A Toy Pedlar and Nine Children Playing around his Stall. B?

Kawasaki Cat. 18. Two pictures each representing Four Children Playing in a Garden. B?

Boston Museum, Portfolio, p. 74. A Lady at her Dressing-table on a Garden Terrace. Fan painting. Signed. A.

Freer Gallery (16, 64). Amitabha Welcoming Souls to

the Western Paradise. Inscribed with the painter's name and the date 1164. Probably copy after a picture by the master. B?

Formerly Hoyt collect., Cambridge, Mass. A Sweet-meat Vendor with his Bamboo stand and a Child.

Portion of a larger painting possibly by the master. A?

National Museum, Stockholm. A Toy Pedlar under a Tree; six children playing around his stall. Later execution. Seals of Chao Meng-fu and the emperor Chang-tsung of Chin dynasty. B?

Peking National Museum Cat. A Pedlar and Children. Handscroll. Signed.

Ibid. Children at Play. Attributed. Seals of Huang Mo-lin and Ch'ien-lung.

Kwen Cat. Four pictures of Arhats. Attributed.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Two Boys Playing with a Crab. Fan painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. Ladies Looking at the Moon under *Wu-t'ung* Trees. Fan-painting. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. A Boy Playing with a Sparrow. Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. The Hundred Children. Fan painting. Attributed.

SU KUO 蘇過, *t.* Shu-tang 叔黨, *h.* Hsieh-ch'uan ch'ü-shih 斜川居士.

Son of Su Shih. B. 1072, d. 1123. Bamboos and stones. H, 3, 1, 50, L, 9, M, p. 731.

Kokka 200 (Kōsaku Uchida). A Mynah-bird on a Bamboo Stalk. Seal of the painter. Probably a Ming picture. C.

SU SHIH 蘇軾, *t.* Tzū-ch'an 子瞻, *h.* Tung-p'ō ch'ü-shih 東坡居士.

From Mei-shan, Szechuan. B. 1036, d. 1101. *Chin-shih* 1057. Served as a magistrate at various places 1071-1079. Banished to Huang-chou, in 1080, where he built his study on the Eastern Slope (Tung-p'ō). In 1086 he was summoned to the court and served between this year and 1094, partly in the government and partly as a magistrate of Ying-chou. Exiled 1094 to Hui-chou in Kwangtung and 1097 to the Island of Hai-nan. Recalled 1101 by the emperor Hui-tsung, but died before he reached the capital. Poet, calligraphist, painter and critic of art. H, 3, 1, 50, L, 9, M, p. 730.

I-shu ts'ung-pien, p. 19. A rubbing of a stone-engraving representing a branch of bamboo.

Anonymous colotype reproduction in the form of a handscroll (no indication of owner) representing A Twisted Old Tree and Some Bamboo Shoots by a large Stone. Ink on paper. The picture is accompanied by three colophons and a poem, one of them is written by Mi Fei, another by Liu Liang-tso, who mentions Su Tung-p'ō as the master of the picture.

Hui-hua kuan. Two Tortuous Dry Trees growing from

overhanging creviced rocks; White Herons soaring above. A large album leaf; executed mainly with ink.

Ascribed to the painter in the adjoining inscription, but probably not executed before the South Sung period.

Tōsō, p. 42 (Ku Ho-i collect). A Stalk of Bamboo. Signed. Three poems by later writers. Old attribution, but probably not executed before the Ming period.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add. 1. Bamboos called "The Tail of a Feng Bird". Signed. Poem by a monk called Miao-sheng.

SUN CHIH-WEI 孫知微, t. Tai-ku 太古.

From P'eng-shan, Szechuan. 11th century. Buddhist figures. D, 1. F, 3. G, 4. H, 3. I, 50. L, 16. M, p.345.

Chung-kuo, I, 17. Bodhidharma Seated in a Cave.

Inscription at the top of the picture by the poet Lu Yu (1125-1210). Attributed. C.

Sōraikan I, Pl.11 (Abe collect., Ōsaka Museum). Fu Hsi, one of the "Three Emperors". Inscription in the

manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. Attributed. Cf. Tōsō, p.36. C.

J. D. Ch'ên collect., Hongkong. Mountain Landscape. Handscroll. Signed *T'ai-ku*. Probably a South Sung picture.

SUNG CH'U 宋處.

From Hsing-chou, Hopei. 11th century. Landscapes, imitated Kuo Hsi. H, 3. M, p.127.

Chung-kuo, I, 58 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Lofty Mountains in Snow; a man walking along the road followed by his servant. Attributed. C?

SUNG JU-CHIH 宋汝志, h. Pi-yün 碧雲.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in the Ching-ting era (1260-1264). Became a Taoist monk in the Yüan period. Landscapes, figures, flowers and birds. Followed Lou Kuan. H, 4-5. M, p.127.

Sōgen Meigashū 43 (Marquis Asano). Young Sparrows in a Basket. Album leaf. Attributed. Cf. Kokka 385; Bijutsu Kenkyū 11. A.

SUNG LIANG-CH'ÊN 宋良臣.

Active probably during the Southern Sung period (1127-1276). Flowers and birds. Little known; name mentioned only in H, 4.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 42 (Manchu Household collect.)

Five Small Birds on the Twigs of a Shrub. Fan painting. Signed. Later. C?

SUNG TI 宋迪, t. Fu-ku 復古.

From Loyang, 11th century. *Chin shih*. Landscapes, followed Li Ch'êng. Said to have been the first to represent the famous Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang. F, 3. G, 12. H, 3. I, 50. M, p.126.

Kwen Cat.19. Tall Willows and a Pavilion by a Mountain Stream. Attributed. C?

TAI YÜAN 戴昀.

From K'aifeng. Member of the Han-lin Academy c.1110-25. Favourite of the emperor Hui-tsung. Flowers and birds. I, 51. M, p.714.

Tōsō, p.62 (Prince Kung). Two Birds on the Branches of a Cherry-apple Tree. Album leaf. Another version of the same design, possibly of the Sung period, is in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

Tai Yüan Hua-niao ts'ê (1918). Eight leaves represent-

ing Flowers and Birds. Colophon by Lo Chên-yü who writes that the album, according to the old label, contains pictures by Tai Yüan. B?

Metropolitan Museum, The Hundred Birds. Handscroll. Attributed. Colours on silk. B?

T'ANG CH'ENG-CHUNG 湯正仲, t. Shu-ya 叔雅, h. Hsien-an 閑庵.

Nephew of Yang Pu-chih, whom he followed in painting plum-blossoms representing them against a darkened background. H, IV, 66. M, p.325.

Nanking Exhib. Cat. 36 (Wu Hu-fan collect.) A
Blossoming Plum-tree, in which two Birds are

Perched. Signed and dated 1207. Inscriptions by
Han Hsing (Yüan Dynasty) and by Ch'ien-lung.

T'ANG SU 唐宿.

From Chia-hsing, Chekiang. Active in the Northern Sung period. Flowers and birds. H, 3, p.13. M, p.325.

Freer Gallery (19, 159). Bamboos and Sparrows.
Attributed. Ink and colours on silk. Possibly of the
Yüan period. C.

Tsu-wêng 卒翁.

A monk probably active at the end of the South Sung period, though classified in the *Kundaikan Sayūchoki* (68) among the Yüan painters.

Kokka III (National Museum, Tokyo). Pu-tai Walking
with his Bag. A.

Umezawa collect., Kamakura. Pu-tai as an Itinerant
Monk.

Sōgen Meigashū 44, 45 (Ōhara collect., Okayama). The
Sixth Patriarch of the Ch'an Sect. A seal probably of
the painter and a poem by the monk Huang-wên who
died c.1260. Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 40 (1935).

Ts'ui Ch'üeh 崔慤, t. Tzū-chung 子中.

Brother of Ts'ui Po. Active during second half of eleventh century. Flowers and birds. F, 4, G, 18. H, 3. M, p.387.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. Quails among Reeds. Fan
painting. Attributed.

Ts'ui Po 崔白, t. Tzū-hsi 子西.

From Hao-liang, Anhui. Became an *i-hsiieh* in the Academy of Painting at the beginning of the Hsi-ning era (1068-1077) and particularly favoured by the emperor Shên-tsung. Executed many wall-paintings in the palace and the temples at K'ai-feng. Specialized in flowers and birds. F, 4, G, 18. H, 3. M, p.387.

Shên Chou 4. A Rabbit. Attributed. C.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, I. A Goose and some Reeds on a Low
Shore. Inscribed with the painter's name. Painted with
ink and colours on silk (like all the following pictures).
A?

Ibid. VII. Two Magpies in a Wind-swept Tree and a
Rabbit. Inscribed with the painter's name and the date
1061. A?

Ibid. XIV. A Swan Standing on the Shore Crying with a
Lifted Head. Attributed. B?

Ibid. XX. A Wild Goose Resting on a Rushy Beach. Attributed. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.40. B?

Ibid. XXXI. A Heron and Bamboos in Wind. Inscribed
with the painter's name. A?

Ibid. XXXVI. Two Flying Geese, Lotuses and Peonies.
Inscribed with painter's name. B?

Hui-hua kuan, Seven Sparrows on a Dry Branch, and
one Descending from the Air. Slight colour and ink
on silk. Handscroll. Probably of the South Sung
period.

Tōsō, p.49 (Ting Shih-yüan collect.) Two Wild Geese
on the Shore. A Small Bird Alighting. C?

Sōgen 5 (Ihachi Doi). Two Turtle-doves by a Rose-
bush. Attributed. B?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol.IV. An "Autumn Hare" seated under a Projecting Cliff. B?

Freer Gallery (19, 154). Birds in Autumn Trees. Attributed. The picture seems to be a rather damaged work of the Ming period.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. A Goose standing on the Shore. Colours on silk. B.

P'ang Yüan-chü Cat.11. Grass and Insects. Album leaf. Attributed.

WAN-YEN TAO 完顏璫, *t.* Chung-pao 仲寶 and Tzū-yü 子瑜, *h.* Ch'u-hsien chü-shih 樗軒居士.

A cousin of emperor Chang-tsung (1190-1208) of the Chin dynasty; Duke of Mi-kuo 密國. Scholar and collector. Active about the end of the 12th century. M, p.113.

Mei-chan t'ò-k'an. Two Farmers with a Water-buffalo on the Shore of a Stream. Two scholars reading in a pavilion built over the water. Signed.

WANG CHÜ-CHENG 王居正, also known by the name Han-ko 憨哥.

From Ho-tung, Shansi. Active probably about the middle of the 11th century. Figures, F, 3, p.17. H, 3, p.19. M, p.31.

Boston Museum (37, 302). A Lady Seated on a Terrace Looking at a Parakeet held by a Servant. Colours on silk. Old attribution. A?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat. vol.I. A Woman Spinning Thread Assisted by a Man-servant. Short handscroll. Colours on silk. Signed.

WANG HSI-MENG 王希孟.

Not mentioned in the literature but the following historical data are found on the picture: Active in the Hsüan-ho period in the Imperial Academy, and died at the age of twenty. The present picture was painted when he was only eighteen years old.

Hui-hua kuan. A Thousand Li of Rivers and Mountains. At the foot of the huge mountain ridges are many buildings, bridges, boats, dry trees and numer-

ous figures. A long handscroll painted in archaic style with deep blue colour on silk possibly after an earlier model. Signed. A.

WANG HSIAO 王曉.

From Ssü-chou, Anhui. Active during the second half of the 10th century. Figures, flowers and birds. D, 3. F, 4. G, 19. H, 3. M, p.30.

Sōraikan, I, 8 (Abe collect.) Reading a Stone-tablet. The figures in Li Ch'êng's landscape. B?

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 23 (Manchu Household collect.) Two Small Birds on a Jujube Branch. Album leaf. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

WANG HUI 王暉.

From Ch'ien-t'ang, Chekiang. *Chih-hou* in the Painting Academy in the reign of Li-tsung (1225-1264) and that of Tu-tsung (1265-1274). Buddhist and Taoist figures. Worked also with his left hand. H, 4. J, 8. M, p.34.

Tōyō IX (Tanaka Shinzō collect.) A pair of pictures representing Pavilions with Figures at the Foot of High Mountains. Signed. B?

WANG I-MIN 王逸民.

A Buddhist monk from Yung-k'ang, Chekiang, who returned to secular life. Active in the Chêng-ho era (1110-1114). Figures and landscapes. H, I, 51, p.11. M, pp.32, 33.

Chung-kuo, I, 37 (Ti P'ing-tzu collect.) Two Shepherd-boys Playing under Leafy Trees in Autumn. Attributed. C?

WANG KUAN 王權, i. Kuo-ch'i 國器.

From Loyang. Active c.963-975. Buddhist and Taoist figures. Studied Wu Tao-tzu's wall-paintings in the temples at Loyang and imitated their style with so much success that he became known as "the Little Wu". D, 1. F, 3. H, 3. M, p.30.

National Museum, Stockholm. A set of three pictures representing Three Bodhisattvas in the guise of old bearded men. The central figure, seated on a cliff rising out of a stream, is probably Avalokitesvara, whereas the two side figures, seated respectively on a lion and on an elephant, represent Mañjuśrī and

Samantabhadra. Ink and white colour on paper. The attribution is based on a temple tradition and reported in an inscription by Wêng Tung-ho, but execution seems later. Cruder versions of the two side figures are reproduced in the Laufer Catalogue, Pls. 7, 8 under the name of Kuan-lsiu. B?

WANG LI-YUNG 王利用, i. Ping-wang 賓王.

From Tung-ch'uan, Shensi. Active under the reign of Sung Kao-tsung. Passed the *chin-shih* degree. Calligraphist and painter. Landscapes and figures. *Hua Chi*, vol.4, p.6. M, p.33.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. Ten Various Manifestations of T'ai-shang Lao-chün. Handscroll. Colour on

silk. Signed. The inscriptions on the picture are attributed to the emperor Kao-tsung. A.

WANG NING 王凝.

From Chiang-nan. 11th century. *Tai-chiao* in the Painting Academy. Birds and flowers. G, 14. H, 3. M, p.30.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXXIV. A Mother Hen Walking with some Chickens on its Back. Signed. Seals of the Yüan, Ming and later times. B?

WANG SHÊN 王詵, i. Chin-ch'ing 晉卿.

From T'ai-yüan, Shansi. Active in the second half of the 11th century. Son-in-law of the emperor Ying-tsung; friend of Su Shih. Connoisseur and collector. Landscapes after Li Ssü-hsün and Li Ch'êng. G, 12. H, 3. I, 50. L, 27. M, p.32.

Ku-kung collect. The Land of the Immortals; said to illustrate a dream of the painter. Distant mountains and graceful small pavilions among the trees. Short handscroll, executed in blue and green colours. Signed and dated 1124. Inscriptions by T'ien Yüan-miao, Ch'ên Chang-han and Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang. Seal of Chia Ssü-tao (of Ming).

Shên Chou, XX. A Man in a Boat by a Mountain Cave

on a River. Archaistic decorative style. Attributed. C.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XVIII. A White Eagle in an Old Tree. Signed. C.

Tōsō, p.12 (Kuan Mien-chün collect.) Fishermen's Village in Snow. Deeply creviced mountains and old trees along the river shores. Handscroll. Cf. Bukkyō Bijutsu, vol.15. B?

I-shu ch'uan-t'ung vol.IV. Fishermen's Village under Snow. Twisted old trees, creviced rocks and sandy beaches. Two fishing boats. Handscroll. Inscription by Ch'ien-lung. Probably the same handscroll which is described in the catalogue of the former National Museum and said to have colophons by Chao Mêng-fu, Sung K'o and Wên Chêng-ming. B. Gems, II, 1. Dense Fog over the River. Handscroll. Attributed. Colophon by Sung Lien of the fourteenth century. A?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol.IV. Fishing-boats on a Broad River at Foot of the Hsi-sai Mountain. Section of a handscroll. Attached to it are ten colophons written by Fan Ch'êng-ta (dated 1185), Hung Ching-lu (dated 1188), Chou Pi-ta (dated 1190?), Tung Ch'î-ch'ang and others.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.II. Boating on a Lotus Lake. Fan painting. Attributed.

WANG TING-KUO 王定國.

From K'ai-feng. Moved to Hangchou and became a court official. Flowers and birds after Li An-chung.

K.-k. chou-k'an, vol.I, 13. Two Birds on a Branch in Snow. Fan painting.

WANG T'ING-YÜN 王庭筠, t. Tzū-tuan 子端, h. Huang-hua shan-jên 黃華山人.

From Ho-tung, Shansi. B. 1151, d. 1202. Nephew of Mi Fei. A Han-lin member under the Chin dynasty. Landscapes, bamboos and old trees. H, 4, I, 52. M, p.34.

Kokka 523 (Fujii collect.) A Tree Trunk and a Bamboo. A short handscroll. Colophons by the painter and by

several prominent men of the Yüan period such as Hsien-yü Shu and Chao Mêng-fu. A.

WANG TSAO 王蓀, t. Sung-nien 嵩年.

Active in the Shao-hsing era (1131-1162). Buffaloes and horses. H, 3, M, p.33.

Kwen Cat.56. The Hundred Buffaloes, grazing and playing in a river valley. Attributed. A slightly different version of this picture formerly ascribed to Li T'ang, is in the Detroit Institute of Arts. B?

Tōsō, p.118 (Yurinkan). A Boy Driving a Buffalo over Snow-covered Ground. Attributed. Cf. Shina Meiga Senshū. B?

WÊN 溫, usually called Tzū Wên 子溫, t. Chung-yen 仲言, h. Jih-kuan 日觀 and Chih-kuei-tzū 知歸子. From Hua-t'ing, Kiangsu. Active c.1230. He lived as a monk in the Ma-nao temple, near Hangchou. Specialized in painting grape-vines. H, 4, I, 64. M, p.6.

Tōsō, p.117 (Nezu collect.) Branches of Climbing Vine. Signed and dated 1228. B?

Ōmura, II, 4 (Chū Ai-ch'ing collect.) A Branch of Climbing Vine. Short handscroll. Signed and dated 1229. Poem by the painter. Cf. The scroll in the former Yamamoto collect.

Kokka 230 (Marquis Inouye). A Branch of Climbing

Vine. Signed and dated 1231. Poem by the painter. A. Sōgen Meigashū 59 (Marquis Kuroda). A Branch of Grapes. Album leaf. B?

Tenryū-ji, Kyōto. Climbing Vine. Two sections of a handscroll. B?

Yurintaikan I. Sections of Climbing Vine. Handscroll. Ink on paper. Colophon by Sung Lien. C.

WĒN T'UNG 文同, *i.* Yü-k'o 與可, *h.* Chin-chiang tao-jên 錦江道人, Hsiao-hsiao hsien-shêng 笑笑先生 and Shih-shih Hsien-shêng 石室先生.

From Tzū-r'ung, Szechuan. *Chin-shih* 1049, d. 1079. Served as magistrate of Hu-chou, Chekiang; hence known as WĒN Hu-chou 文湖州. Friend of Su Shih. Poet, calligraphist and painter of bamboo. F, 3. G, 20. H, 3. I, 50. L, 15. M, p. 16.

Chung-kuo, I, 27 (Ti P'ing-tzū collect.) Bamboos by a Rock in Wind. Inscribed with the painter's name and the date 1070. Four poems. B?

K.-k., XI. A Branch of Bamboo. Seals of the painter. Colophons by Wang Chih and Ch'ên Hsün of the Ming period. Cf. *Ku-kung ming-jen hua-chu chi*, Pl. I. Possibly an old faithful copy. A?

Ku-kung collect. A Bamboo Branch bent in a sharp Angle. Large album leaf. Painted with ink and rubbed with white powder. The signature is a later interpolation. Cf. *Chung-hua wĕn-wu chi-ch'êng*, IV, p. 318. A?

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat. vol. I. A Bamboo Branch. Ink on silk. Inscription said to be by Su Shih. B?

Hsü hsiao-p'u, Taipei. *Wan-ai t'u*. Evening Clouds over the Bay. High mountain-ridges form the background, tall pine-trees on the rocky shore in the foreground, and some leafy trees around a small homestead with pavilions partly built over the water. The design may be by the master but the dry execution is later. Handscroll. Signed: Wan Ai t'u Yü-k'o.

Metropolitan Museum. Autumn in the River Valley. Short handscroll. Inscribed with the painter's name. B? Sōraikan II, Pl. 13. Some Bamboo-branches in the Wind. C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. II. Bare Trees and Tall Bamboos by a Rock. Fan painting. Attributed.

WU-CHUN HO-SHANG 無準和尚. Family name Yung 雍, personal name Shih-fan 師範.

From Tzū-r'ung, Szechuan. B. c. 1175, d. 1249. A priest of the Ching-shan temple and the teacher of Mu-ch'i. The emperor Li-tsung (1225-1264) bestowed on him the *hao* Fo-chien ch'an-shih 佛鑒禪師. Cf. *Kundaikan Sayūchoki*, 17.

Kokka 243 (Marquis Y. Tokugawa). A set of three pictures: 1. Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtse River on a Reed. Seals of the painter and a poem by

a pupil of his. 2. Yu-shan-chu on a Donkey. Poem by the painter, and his seals. 3. Chên-huan-ning on a Buffalo. Poem by the painter and his seals.

WU PING 吳炳.

From Pi-ling (Wu-chin), Kiangsu. *Tai-chao* in the Painting Academy in the reign of Kuang-tsung (1190-1194). Flowers and birds. H, 4. J, 5. M, p. 159.

Chung-kuo ming-hua XVII. A Large White Water Bird with a Blue Crest, Soaring on Spread Wings. Fan-shaped. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

Ku-kung collect. Butterflies among tall Grass. In *ku-kung-pi* manner with colours.

Ch'ing-kung ts'ang, 33 (Manchu Household collect.) A Bird on a Branch of a leafy Tree. Album leaf. Inscribed with the painter's name. B?

Metropolitan Museum. Birds on the Branches of Fruit Trees. Two album leaves. Attributed. B?

Philadelphia Museum. Ducks and Hibiscus. Inscribed with the painter's name. C.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. II. Red Camellia Flowers. Album leaf. Signed.

WU SHU-MING 吳叔明.

Unrecorded; probably a court painter of the South Sung period.

Umezawa collect., Kamakura. Temple Pavilions among pointed Rocks and large leafy Trees. Signed. Fan-

painting. Cf. Tōsō, p. 116; also Shimada and Yonezawa, *Painting of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties*.

WU TSUNG-YÜAN 武宗元, originally Tsung-tao 宗道, *h.* Tsung-chih 總之.

From Pai-po, Honan. Active at the beginning of the 11th century, d. 1035. Buddhist and Taoist figures, imitated Wu Tao-tzu and Wang Kuan. D, 1. F, 3. G, 4. H, 3. M, p.222.

Tōsō, p.26 (Liang I-ming collect.) A Heavenly King. Inscription in the manner of the emperor Hui-tsung. C.

Metropolitan Museum. The Celestial Rulers of Taoism and their Attendants in a long Procession. Two hand-rolls. Ink on silk. Probably copies of the Ming period. Cf. London Exhibition, Catalogue No.1141. C. C. Wang, New York. The same motif as in the

preceding picture. The design is practically the same, but the execution is earlier. The picture has been published in Japan in a complete scroll-reproduction, whereas another version of the same design, formerly in the possession of the painter Hsü Pei-hung, was reproduced by the Yu-chêng Book Company in Shanghai. The design may have been intended for a wall-painting.

WU TUNG-CH'ING 吳洞清.

From Ch'ang-sha. Flourished in the 11th century. Famous for his paintings of Buddhist and Taoist figures.

Sōraikan II, 11. A Fairy with an Attendant. At the upper left corner the date: 1175. At the lower right corner another date: 1376. A late imitation. C.

WU YÜAN-YÜ 吳元瑜, *t.* Kung-ch'i 公器.

From K'ai-feng. Active c. 1080-1104. Pupil of Ts'ui Po. Flowers and birds. G, 19. H, 3. M, p.139.

Sōraikan II, 12. Two Golden Orioles on the Branches of a Blossoming Pear-tree. Inscription in the style of the emperor Hui-tsung and his seals. Probably a Ming painting. Cf. Tōsō, p.50.

Miss A. O'Brien collect., St. Paul, Minn. A pair of pictures representing a Gander and a Goose. The former floating on the water with goslings on its back; the latter standing on the shore. Inscribed with the painter's name and the date 1103. B?

YANG FEI 楊鵬 (or 萊).

From K'ai-feng. Active in the Northern Sung period. Buddhist and Taoist figures, particularly pictures of Kuanyin. F, 3. H, 3. M, p.582.

I-shu ts'ung-pien, 4. Kuanyin Bodhisattva Descending on Clouds, long fluttering garments laid in fine folds. Attributed.

YANG FU-CHIH 楊補之, *t.* Wu-chiu 無咎, *h.* T'ao-ch'an lao-jên 逃禪老人 and Ch'ing-i chang-chê 清夷長者. From Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi. B. at the end of the 11th century and still alive 1167. Followed the old plum-blossom painter Hua-kuang, and may have been the editor of *Hua-kuang mei-p'u* 華光梅譜, to which he added a chapter. H, 4. I, 31. L, 32. M, p.499.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, XXIX. A *Ch'in* Player on a Misty Mountain. Four poems by writers of the Ming period. C.

Ibid. XXXIV. The upper section of an Old Plum Tree in Bloom. Signed. Poem by the painter. B?

YANG SHIH-HSIEN 楊士賢.

Tai-chao in the Painting Academy during the Hsüan-ho and Shao-hsing eras (c.1120-1160). Landscapes, followed Kuo Hsi. H, 3, M, p.583.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. A Pavilion among Tall Bamboos. Fan painting. Attributed.

YEH NIEN-TSU 葉念祖, t. Po-hsien 栢仙.

Probably late Sung dynasty. Unrecorded.

Chêng Ch'i collect., Hongkong. A Hanging Grapevine. Ink on silk. Signed. Formerly in the T'ing-fan-lou collect., Shanghai.

YEN-SOU 嚴叟 (Wang Yen-sou?)

Active in the Southern Sung period. Plum-blossoms. Recorded in *Shu-hua hui-k'ao*. (Not identical with Wang Yen-sou 王嚴叟, t. Yen-lin 彦霖, who served as a censor in the reign of the emperor Chên-tsung (1086-1100).)

Freer Gallery. Plum-blossoms. Long branches of a tree and a section of its trunk. Handscroll. Signed: Yen-sou. Cf. Tōsō, p.120.

YEN SU 燕肅, t. Mu-chih 穆之.

From I-tu, Shantung. Also known as Yen Lung-t'u because of his service in the *Lung-t'u* Pavilion. Passed his *chin-shih* degree and served as President of the Board of Rites in the reign of the emperor Chên-tsung (998-1022). Active still in 1040. Landscapes. F, 3, G, 11, H, 3, I, 50, L, 18, M, p.668.

Ku-kung collect. Mountains in Snow along a River, Pavilions under some bare Trees. Inscription by Li Jih-hua who attributes the picture to Yen Su, but the execution is hardly before the Yüan period.

Dr. Müller collect., Peking. (1935). Mountains in Sum-

mer; two travellers on donkeys under a pine-tree. Part of a handscroll. Old attribution.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat.11. A Straw-covered Pavilion by the River. Album leaf. Attributed.

Ibid. 11. A Temple with a Pagoda in a Mountain. Fan painting. Attributed.

YEN TZ'Ü-P'ING 閻次平.

Son of the painter Yen Chung 閻仲. Entered the Painting Academy c.1164, became a *chih hou*, and was still active in 1181. Specialized in water-buffaloes; influenced by Li T'ang as a landscapist. H, 4, J, 4, M, p.673.

K.-k. *Shu-hua chi*, XIII. Landscape with Water and Pavilion, known as The Four Contentments, i.e. wood-cutter, fisherman, farmer and scholar. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.51. A?

K.-k. *chou-k'an*, vol.III, 64. A Homestead on a Rocky Shore among Large Pine-trees. Fan painting. A?

Gems, II, 3. Water-buffaloes in Pasture, with Three Herd-boys. Handscroll. A?

Kokka 191 (Sumitomo collect.) Two Herd-boys and a Family of Water-buffaloes by a River. Traditional attribution. Cf. Tōyō VIII, B.

Shimbi, XII (Daitoku-ji). Two pictures: Fishing-boats on the River; and the River in Snow with a Ferry. B?

Tōsō, p.75 (T. Inouye collect.) Bodhidharma Seated in Meditation Facing a Cliff. Seal of the painter(?)

Sung-jên hua-ts'ê (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) Three Goats under Willows. Album leaf.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. Add. 1. Two Men in a Pavilion below a Cliff. Album leaf. Attributed.

YEN Tz'ü-yü 閻次子.

Younger brother of Yen Tz'ü-p'ing. *Chih-hou* in the Painting Academy c.1164. Landscapes. H. 4. M. p.673.

Freer Gallery (35, 10). A Promontory with Cottages and Trees. Misty atmosphere. Album leaf. Signed. Cf. P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11.

Chang Ta-ch'ien Cat., vol. IV. A Rocky Bay and Pine-trees in Wind and Rain. Fan-shaped.

P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 11. Two album leaves representing landscapes. Second picture signed.

Ibid. 11. Pine-trees along a Stream with a Ferry. Fan painting. Attributed.

YIN-T'Ö-LO 因陀羅.

A Ch'an monk, born in Maghada in India who lived for some time in a temple in K'ai-feng and also during a period in the T'ien-chu temple near Hangchow. Active in the second half of the 13th century. Buddhist figures. Mentioned in *Kundaikan Sayūchoki* (No. 109).

Kokka 35 (Morioka collect.) Fêng-kan with Two Companions. Signed. Three poems, one of them by the priest Hsin-yüeh who died in 1274. B.

Ibid. 110 (National Museum, Tokyo). A pair of pictures representing Han-shan and Shih-tê. Poem by the monk Tsu-ying. B.

Ibid. 173 (ex Count Tsuruga collect.) The Priest Tan-hsia Burning a Buddha Statue. Poem by Ch'u-shih (1296-1370). Cf. Tōyō, IX; Bijutsu Kenkyū 14. A. Part of the same series as the following pictures numbered 2 to 5.

Ibid. 201 (ex Marquis Kuroda collect.) The Priest Yao-shan Speaking to Li Ao. Poem by Ch'u-shih. A. 2.

Ibid. 223 (ex Count Daté collect.) A pair of pictures representing Han-shan and Shih-tê. Each with a poem by Tz'ü-chiao. Cf. Shimbi, IX.

Ibid. 310 (Murayama collect.) Vimalakirti. Signed. Poem by the monk Fu-mên (Mên Wu-kuan). A.

Ibid. 392 (ex Marquis Asano collect.) Bodhidharma Crossing the Yangtse River. Signed. A?

Ibid. 419 (Marquis Asano collect.) Han-shan and Shih-tê. Section of a scroll. Poem by Ch'u-shih. A. 3.

Sōgen Meigashū 51, 52 (Mayeyama collect.) Two pictures representing Han-shan and Shih-tê. Signed. Cf. Tōsō, pp. 203, 204. A.

Ibid. 53 (Nezu collect.) Pu-tai and a Devotee. Poem by Ch'u-shih. Portion of a scroll. Cf. Tōsō, p. 206. A. 4.

Tōsō, p. 205 (S. Katō collect.) Han-shan; Shih-tê. Two pictures mounted on one scroll. B?

Seikadō Kansho (Iwasaki collect.) Kuei-tung 歸宗 and Chang Chieh 張藉. Poem by the priest Ch'u-shih. A. 5.

Kawasaki Cat. 4. Fêng-kan with Two Companions. A mounted album leaf. Seals of the painter. B?

Sei Kan (an Art Magazine) 1940, No. 5 (Private collect. in Kyūshū). Monk Yang-shan 仰山 and Prince Hsiao 蕭 discussing a Ch'an kōan. A.

Ryūko-in (Daitokuji). A Priest with a Staff and two Boys. Inscription by a man called Fa-ying.

YÜ-CHIEN 玉淵.

The name has been used by two monk-painters, both active around or shortly before the middle of the 13th century.

A. Ying Yü-chien 瑩玉淵, who lived in Ch'ing-tz'ü ssü at the West Lake in Hangchow and is said to have been a follower of Hui-ch'ung as a landscape-painter.

B. Jo-fên 若芬. Family name Ts'ao 曹, i. Chung-shih 仲石, h. Fu-jung shan-chu 芙蓉山主 and Yü-chien, who lived in Shang-chu ssü in Yang-chou and later in Wu-chou, Chekiang. H. 4. M. p. 259.

Kokka 429 (ex Matsudaira collect., now Yoshikawa Eiji). Mountain Town in Clearing Mist. One of the Eight Famous Views of Hsiao and Hsiang. Cf. Tōyō X; Sōgen, p. 38.

Kokka 498 (ex Maeda collect., now Commission for Preservation of Cultural Property). Harvest Moon over Tung-t'ing Lake. From same series as the preceding picture.

Tokugawa Museum, Nagoya. Fishing Village in Sunset. Tōsō, p. 116 (Yoshikawa, Eigi, Tokyo). The Summit of Lu-shan. Fragmentary portion of a handscroll. An early complete copy of the original picture is in the Nezu Museum, Tokyo.

Murō collect., Catalogue II, 2. A Beach at the Foot of

undulating Hills. Short handscroll. The picture is in bad condition but may be of the period.

Sōgen Meigashū, PL. 46 (Murayama collect.) Mountains rising over a Low Beach with Dark Trees. A later picture. B?

Yü CH'ING-YEN 於青言 or 于青言, or Ch'ing-nien 青年.

Native of Pi-ling (Ch'ang-chou), Kiangsu. Active in the Chia-ting era (1208-1222). Specialized in lotus and was called Ho Yü, i.e. "Lotus Yü". Younger members of the family continued the same tradition: Yü Tzu-ming 於子明 was probably his son, whereas Yü Wu-tao 於務道, Wu-yen 務言, who was active in the Yüan period, was probably his grandson. H, 4, M, pp. 7, 215.

Chion-in, Kyōto. A pair of pictures: One representing Lotus and Ducks; the other, Lotus and White Herons. (Sometimes ascribed to Hsü Hsi.) Cf. *Sekai Bijutsu*

Zenshū, v, XIV, where the pictures are ascribed to Yü Tzu-ming. Cf. two similar pictures in the National Museum, Tokyo, sometimes ascribed to Ku Tê-ch'ien.

Yü CHUNG-WÊN 虞仲文, i. Chih-fu 質夫.

From Ting-yüan, Shansi. 12th century. *Chin-shih* and *Han-lin* member under the Chin dynasty. Bamboos after Wên T'ung, figures and horses. H, 4, I, 52. L, 6, M, p. 562.

Chung-kuo, I, 83 (Ti P'ing-tzu collect.) A Flying Horse Running through the Air. Signed. Colophon by the painter, dated 1186. A?

Paintings by anonymous artists attributed to the Sung Period

1. Taoist and Buddhist

K-k. Shu-hua chi, III. White-robed Kuanyin seated on a Bench before a Screen.

Ibid. IV. Mañjuśrī Wearing a Mantle of Plaited Straw. Half-length figure. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.

Ibid. XXVIII. A Hsien-jên Carrying a Basket with Fungi of Immortality. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 115.

Ibid. XXXI. A Fairy with the White Stag of Longevity.

Ibid. XXXV. Śakyamuni Buddha on a Pedestal; below two Lokapālas, two Bhikṣus and two Bodhisattvas.

Kokka 421 (Engaku-ji, Kanagawa). Arhats, the T'ien-tsang Bodhisattva.

Ibid. 558 (Baron H. Fujita). A Taoist Divinity.

Shumbi, IV (Shoryo-ji). The Seventh and Eighth

Arhats. Cf. Tōyō, VIII; four more of the same series in Sogen Appendix, 1-4. Early Sung.

Ibid. VI (Tōfuku-ji). Portrait of the Ch'an Priest Wuchun. Dated 1238. Cf. Tōyō, IX.

Tōyō, VIII (T. Hara). The Priest Hsüan-chuang Returning to China. Cf. Kokka 96.

Ibid. VIII (Tōdai-ji). The Priest Hsiang-hsiang Ta-shih. Southern Sung.

Tōsō, p. 129 (Ehō-ji). The Thousand-armed Kuanyin. Ibid. p. 132 (Nezu collect.) Bodhidharma. Half-length.

Poem by Tê-kuang, dated 1189.

Sōraikan, I, 19 (Abe collect.) Two paintings from a series of 16, each representing an Arhat with Attendant.

Sōgen 29. (Fang Yao-yü collect.) The King of Heaven and other Taoist Deities.

Bijutsū Kenkyū 7 (Reian-ji, Tokyo). The Sixteen Arhats.

Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) Mañjuśrī's Visit to Vimalakīrti, illustrating Chapters 5-9 of the Vimalakīrti Sūtra. The text and the painting executed with gold and silver on purple silk. Handscroll. Dated 1118.

2. Figure Compositions and Portraits

I-shu ts'ung-pien, 18. Two Ladies calling a White Bird which is tied to a tree-branch. Probably a Yüan painting.

K. k., II. Scholars Occupied at their Writing-desks on a Garden Terrace.

Ibid. IX. Portrait of Lu Chih (754-805).

Ibid. XXVI. Wên Yen-po and Twelve of his Friends Meeting in a Pavilion at Loyang.

Ibid. XXXIII. Three Children Playing with small Boats in a stone basin.

Ibid. XXXV. A Court Lady seated on a Terrace by a Pond, attended by two servants.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VI. Portrait of Ssü-ma Kuang (1019-1086). Short handscroll.

Ibid. XIII. A Lady Accompanied by Three Servants "Washing the Moon" in a Garden Well.

Ibid. XIV. Seven Small Children Picking Dates. A South Sung painting.

Ibid. XV. "Breaking the Balustrade." The Emperor Ch'êng-ti of Han dynasty condemning the duke Chang Yü. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.

Ibid. XVII. "Refusing the Seat." A high official saluting an emperor and the empress in a garden. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.114.

Ibid. XVII. Palace Musicians. The ladies are gathered to a feast around a table; some are eating and drinking, others are making music on various instruments. Possibly a Sung painting after earlier model.

Ibid. XXV, XXVI, XXXIV, XLIV. Four pictures representing the famous Eighteen Scholars of the Tang Dynasty. The men are meeting on garden terraces and occupied with the Four Arts: i.e., Calligraphy, Painting, Playing the *Ch'in*, and games of Chess, probably later.

Ibid. XXXVII. Two Children Playing with a Cat in a Garden. A South Sung picture.

Ibid. XXXVIII. An Itinerant Pedlar and some Children.

Ibid. XLII. A Herb-collector in the Mountains.

London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.79. Portrait of the Philosopher Chu Hsi (1130-1200).

Ibid. pp.126, 127 (National Museum, Peking). Portraits of the emperors T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung of the Sung dynasty.

Erh-shih chia (Lo Chên-yü collect.) Testing the Baby on its Birthday.

T'ien-lai ko (Li Pa-k'o collect.) The Village School. Album leaf. Cf. Tōsō, p.133 (now in the Boston Museum).

Ibid. Mencius's Mother. Album leaf.

Ibid. Watching a Game of Chess. Album leaf.

Ibid. Fairies Crossing the Rivers Hsiao and Hsiang. Album leaf.

Ibid. Liu Pei Paying his Visit to Chu-ko Liang. Album leaf.

Ibid. Wang Hsi-chih and his Self-portrait. Album leaf.

Ibid. Three Boys Watching Crickets Fight. Album leaf.

Ibid. Three Boys Performing a Puppet Play. Album leaf.

Ibid. Chao-chün's Journey to Mongolia. Fan-shaped.

(The original of this picture executed in the North Sung period, is in the National Museum in Stockholm.)

Ibid. Ts'ai Wên-chi Returning to China. Fan painting.

Ibid. Chêng K'ang-ch'êng and his Poet-maids. Fan painting. Cf. Tōsō, p.134 (now in the Boston Museum).

Ibid. Threading a Needle on the 7th of the 7th Moon. A lady on a garden terrace. Fan painting.

Ibid. A Lady Standing before her Dressing-table, two maids bringing a tray. Fan painting.

Ibid. An Imperial Concubine Bathing a Baby. Fan painting.

Kokka 528 (Fujii collect.) A Scholar under a Pine-tree.

Ibid. 557 (Kozo Moriya collect.) The Poet Tu Fu on a Donkey.

Sōgen Meigashū (Marquis Inouye). An Angler in White Cloak hunched up among Reeds on a River-bank. (Sometimes attributed to Hsü Tsai.)

Tōsō, p.135 (K'uai Shou-shu collect.) A Bird-peddler accompanied by some Children. Handscroll.

Ibid. p.139 (K'o. Chêng-hsien collect.) Portraits of Ch'in Tsu and Kuei Hsün. From an album of portraits of sages and worthies.

Metropolitan Museum (Bahr collect.) A Man Sleeping on a Bamboo Couch. Album leaf.

Boston Museum, Portfolio, pp.61-65. Wên-chi's Captivity in Mongolia and her Return to China. Four sections of a handscroll.

Freer Gallery, Illustrations to T'ao Yüan-ming's *Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'ü*. The text on the picture by Li P'êng is dated 1110, but the picture was probably not executed before the Yüan period.

3. Palaces and Buildings

Chung-kuo, I, 66 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Pavilions and Gateways in a Garden, called T'ai-ku Composing Poems.

Ibid. I, 79 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Spring Morning at the Palaces of a Han Emperor.

K.-k., XVI. The Emperor Yüan-tsung of the Southern T'ang Dynasty with his Court Ladies assembled in a Pavilion where a Taoist is Boiling Snow.

Ibid. XVII. Imperial Palaces and Figures in the Mountains. Illustration to a poem by Tu Fu called "Songs of the Beautiful Girl". Fragment of an early design. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.124.

Ibid. XXIII. A Lady in a Pavilion Contemplating the Moon. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.113.

Ibid. XXIX. Pavilions of the Shang-lin Park in Snow. Fan painting. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.125.

K.-k., Shu-hua chi, II. High Pavilions along a Mountain River. Poems by Ch'ien-lung and eleven of his officials.

Ibid. IV. The Fairy Terrace on the Island of the Immortals. Probably Ming.

Ibid. VII. Palace Pavilions and Tall Trees at the Foot of a Snow-covered Slope. Writing by Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.109.

T'ien-lai ko (Li Pa-k'o collect.) The Yellow Stork Tower. Album leaf.

Ibid. The Pavilion of Prince T'eng. Album leaf.

Boston Museum Portfolio, p.71. The Garden Terrace in front of a Palace. Album leaf. South Sung period.

4. Landscapes

I-shu ts'ung-pien, 13. Reading the *I-ching* in a Pavilion under Pine-trees. After Tung Yüan.

Chung-kuo, I, 16 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) A Man in a Boat by a Cliff under a Plum-tree in Bloom.

Ibid. I, 19 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Ox-carts Travelling through Snow in the Mountains. Fan painting.

Ibid. I, 59 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Seascape with Mountain Silhouettes and a Bird. Fan painting.

Ibid. I, 62 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Pulling Boats along the Rocky Shore of a River.

Ibid. I, 67 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) The Wang ch'uan Garden. A poet resting in the bamboo grove.

Ibid. I, 70. An Old Oak-tree in front of a Mountain Garden. Cf. *Nanshû Ihatsu*.

Ibid. I, 71 (Ti P'ing-tzû collect.) Pavilions with Scholars at the Foot of High Mountains in Autumn.

K.-k., XXXVIII. Mountain Landscape with a Temple in a Gully. The man on horseback is Hsiao I.

K.-k., Shu-hua chi, II. Pine-trees and Rocks by a Waterfall.

Ibid. III. Deeply Creviced Mountains in Autumn. Early design. Poem by Ch'ien-lung.

Ibid. V. Snow-covered Mountains by a River. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.108.

Ibid. IX. Sailing Boats Returning to a Harbour at the Foot of Verdant Mountains. Short handscroll; early design. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.120.

Ibid. XI. The Min Mountains after Snowfall. Beautiful design in Kuo Hsi's manner.

Ibid. XII. River Valley with Buildings at the Foot of Deeply Creviced Mountains. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Early design.

Ibid. XIV. The Poet under the Pine-trees Looking at the Moon. After Ma Yüan. Probably by Tai Wên-chin. Cf. K.-k., XXXI.

Ibid. XVI. Numberless Peaks and Valleys. Early design in Kuo Hsi's style.

Ibid. XVIII. Fishing Boats on the River at the Foot of High Mountains. Possibly South Sung.

Ibid. XXI. A Man in a Snow-covered Pavilion Looking at Plum-blossoms. After Ma Yüan. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., 112.

Ibid. XXII. Fishermen in Two Boats on the River. Possibly a South Sung picture.

Ibid. XXIII. Winter scenery with travellers. Village by a River Spanned by a High Bridge. Interesting composition.

Ibid. XXIV. Creviced Mountains with Old Trees in Snow. Probably a Ming painting after Chang Sêng-yu. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.110.

- Ibid. XXIV. Snow Piling up on High Creviced Mountains with Bare Trees. Early design; late execution.
- Ibid. XXXIV. Steep Mountains and Gushing Waterfalls. Possibly an early Ming painting.
- Ibid. XL. Sharp Cliffs and Stones in Mist; men walking along the dike. A free transposition of a Ma-Hsia design.
- Ibid. XLI. The Visitor at the Scholar's Pavilion in the Mountains. A Ming painting after Ma Yüan.
- Ibid. XLII. A Road-side Inn and Travelling Carts in Snow-bound Mountains. Poem by Ch'ien-lung. Possibly late Sung.
- Ibid. XLIII. Scholars Meeting in Autumn Mountains (*Ch'iu-shan wen-hui t'u*).
- Ibid. XLIII. A Clump of Knotty Old Trees on a Riverbank; men stepping into a boat. A Kuo Hsi design.
- Ibid. XLIV. A Mighty Old Tree in the Cold. Album leaf. A Sung painting.
- Ibid. XLV. Fishing Boats on a Mountain Stream. Possibly a Yüan-Ming picture.
- Sung-jên hua-ts'ü (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) A Man Seated in a Pavilion under Two Pines by a River. Fan painting.
- T'ien-lai ko (Li Pa-k'o collect.) The Ch'ien-t'ang Bore. Fan painting.
- Ibid. Pavilion among Trees by a Bay, Gathering Crows. Fan painting.
- Kokka 364 (Abe collect.) Cottages by a Lake, a man sweeping the yard, another walking across the bridge. Fan painting. South Sung.
- Tōyō, VIII (Konchi-in). A pair of landscapes: A Man Resting under a Pine-tree (Autumn); A Man Walking by a Cliff (Winter). (Kuan-ji.) A Man Walking under a Wind-swept Pine-tree (Summer). These three landscapes, together with a fourth, now lost, formed a series attributed to the emperor Hui-tsung. Cf. Kokka 155; Shimbi, II; Tōsō, pp. 36-38.
- Nanshū Itatsu, I. A Cliff by a River in Snow.
- Ibid. I. A Man Washing his Feet in a Mountain Stream.
- Tokyo National Museum (C.P.C.P.) Landscape of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers. Handscroll. Wrongly ascribed to Li Kung-lin. One of the many Sung colophons (the earliest dated 1170) mentions a "Master Li" as the artist. Published in scroll form by Hakubundō; Cf. also Shimada and Yonezawa, *Painting of Sung and Yüan Dynasties*, and *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū*, vol. 8.
- Tōsō, p. 136 (K'uai Shou-shu collect.) High Snow-clad Mountains by a River; Pavilions and Boats.
- Sōgen, II (Ts'ao Jun-t'ien collect.) A Man Seated by a Waterfall. Fan painting in South Sung style.
- Ibid. 14 (B. Tanaka). The Pagoda in the Mountains; a Village below. Probably a Ming picture.
- Bijutsu Kenkyū 4 (Sugawara collect., Kamakura). Parting at the Shore. Presented to the Japanese priest Eisai on his return to Japan in the early 13th cent. Colophons by two pupils of Chü Hsi.
- Cleveland Museum. An Endless Vista of Rivers and Mountains. Handscroll. Ascribed to the Northern Sung period. Another version of the same composition in Metropolitan Museum is attributed to Kuo Hsi, but probably not executed before the Ming period or later.
- Chicago Institute of Art. A Southern Sung version of Wang Wei's Wang-ch'uan landscape scroll. No signature or attribution.
- Boston Museum, Portfolio, p. 90. Flocks of Birds Flying over Bare Woods. Fan painting. Late 12th century.
- Ibid. p. 142. Mountains with Autumn Foliage and a River with a Boat. Album leaf.
- Boston Museum. A Boat among Reeds. Album leaf. South Sung.
- Nelson Museum, Kansas City. Winding River, with Fishing-boats, Groves of Trees and Travellers along the Shores. Mountains beyond. A long slightly coloured handscroll; partly reproduced in Sōgen, 10. Possibly Late Sung period.

5. Animals

- K.-k. Shu-hua chi, VIII. A Black Rabbit. Album leaf.
- Ibid. X. Six Kittens Playing on a Garden Terrace.
- Ibid. XI. A Herd-boy Leading Home Two Buffaloes.
- Ibid. XIII. Two Monkeys in a Loquat Tree. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 116.
- Ibid. XXVIII. The Nine Blessings to Dispel the Cold. Return of spring, with grazing goats.
- Ibid. XXXII. The Return of Spring. A boy with nine goats.
- Ibid. XXXIII. A Cat under some Mu-tan Plants. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p. 119.
- Ibid. XXXVI. White Stags and a Doe under a Peach Tree.
- Ibid. XXXVII. The Return of Spring. A boy with eighty-one goats.
- Ibid. XXXIX. A Buffalo with its Calf.

Ibid. XLI. Water-buffaloes and Herd-boys by a River. Handscroll.

Sōgen 12 (Ts'ao Jun-t'ien). A Monkey on a Rock by a Bare Tree. Album leaf.

Ibid. 23 (Yen Chih-k'ai). Pasturing Goats and Sheep. Handscroll.

Sōraikan II, 29. Thirteen Water Buffaloes Grazing in a Landscape with Dry Trees. Handscroll. Inscription by Ch'ien-lung, dated 1758. Various seals among which a small seal of Po-yang Shan-jên, i.e. Ch'ên Tao-fu.

Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. A White Hare by a River under a Leafy Tree. A darkened Sung painting.

6. Flowers and Birds

K.-k., XXII. A Wild Goose Standing by some Lotus Plants.

Ibid. XXXVI. A Branch of Camellia Flowers.

K.-k. Shu-hua chi, V. Three Melons. Handscroll. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.121.

Ibid. IX. Four Quails by a Tuft of Millet. Cf. London Exhibition, Chinese Cat., p.117.

Ibid. XII. Four Magpies and other Birds in a Flowering Tree.

Ibid. XIV. A Falcon Chasing a Mynah and other Birds.

Ibid. XV. Two Wild Geese Standing by some Reeds in Winter.

Ibid. XVI. Two Sparrows in a Blossoming Peach-tree.

Ibid. XX. Doves Descending on a Hillock, Grown with Shrubs and Bamboo.

Ibid. XXV. Two Birds and Blossoming Trees: a New Year composition. Early pattern.

Ibid. XXIX. Peonies and other Flowers in an Ornamental Vase.

Ibid. XXX. Two Pheasants and Mynah-birds among Bamboos in Winter.

Ibid. XXXII. Small Birds among Blossoming Camellias and Plum-tree. A Ming picture.

Ibid. XXXV. A White Hen and Five Chickens (on black background).

Ibid. XXXVI. An Evergreen Plant in a Pot on a Pedestal. A Ming picture.

Ibid. XLII. Small Birds in a Blossoming Plum-tree and a Tuft of Bamboo.

Sung-jên hua-ts'ê (Li Mo-ch'ao collect.) A Large Lotus Flower. Fan painting.

Ibid. Two Geese, Rushes and Lotus Leaves. Fan painting.

Ibid. Cock, Hen and Chickens on a Garden Terrace. Album leaf.

Ibid. Two Mandarin Ducks Resting under Bamboos and a Plum-tree. Album leaf.

Ibid. A Blossoming Shrub and some Insects. Fan painting.

T'ien-lai ko (Li Pa-k'o collect.) Magpies by a Stream under Pine-trees. Album leaf.

Freer Gallery. Two Doves on a Flowering Branch. Attributed to Pien Luan.

Freer Gallery. Two Mandarin Ducks under a Blossoming Shrub.

The main body of this first section of the Annotated Lists was finished at the end of 1955, but some additional insertions have been made later partly based on my studies in the former Palace Museum collection, now at Tai-chung, Formosa.



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